



# HANDBOOK FOR CONGRESSMEN

The Congress is composed of ordinary mortals. They share the virtues and vices of the nation which they seek to represent. But after all is said and done, it will not be denied that it is the oldest political organisation in the country, it is the most representative; it has drawn to itself the best talent in the country, it has the highest amount of sacrifice to its credit. Above all it is the one organisation that has offered the greatest resistance to foreign rule and exploitation.

—MAHATMA GANDHI

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## NOTE

The main purpose of this Handbook is to acquaint every Congress worker and every Congress candidate with the approach of the Congress to all problems, to supply him with necessary information and enough material so as to enable him to have clear ideas on broad questions and to meet arguments by political opponents, and to serve generally as a guide in the matter of presenting the Congress view-point.

The material regarding Government activities incorporated in this book bears mostly on the Congress regime in the Centre and is taken from publications by the Government of India. Thanks in ample measure are due to those publications. This material, wherever found necessary, should be supplemented by information regarding activities by the various State Governments.

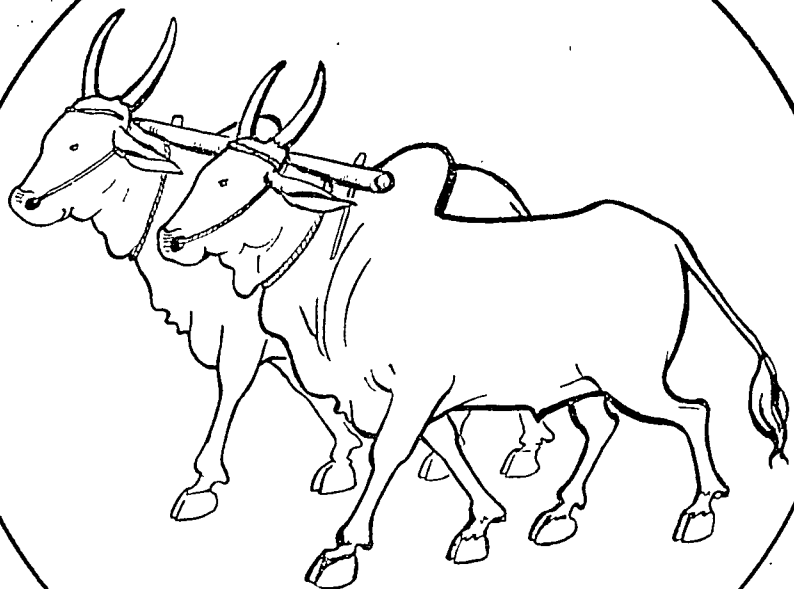


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**RESERVED SEATS FOR SCHEDULED CASTES**



**Put your Vote in the ballot box carrying this SYMBOL**





go as far back as the 6th millenium. From the 6th century B.C., however, there is a continuous history. During this period we see a long line of great minds and creators of thought that have contributed to human achievement in every field of activity from handicrafts to philosophy and from the art of cookery to the science of contemplation.

Like all other nations, India had had its vicissitudes. In spite of them, the activities of our people in almost every field of human life, have been so wide and striking that there was hardly any period which was barren. India is often-times called a land of religion, a land where people believe more in the spirit than in matter. But this does not mean that the predominant note in the life of the people is 'other-worldly'. In fact, the greatest attempt at synthesis between the spiritual and the sensuous urges was made in India through Shaktism. In this school of thought, Bhoga (enjoyment) is made to subserve Yoga (communion with the highest). It is true that religious faith of one kind or the other has been the mainspring in the lives of most of the great men of this land. But it would be found that it is they who have led in the material as well as the moral field.

The Vedas which may well be said to be the fountainhead of all subsequent schools of faith, are the most ancient compositions in the world both as poetry and as inspired gospel. But the Indian mind was not satisfied by merely expressing the highly religious promptings of the heart. The brain also got busy and built up philosophy and metaphysics in varied patterns. Thus, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Brahmasutras, the Gita, became the source of the systems of Vedanta formulated by Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Vallabha.

The Indian mind did not rest there. It probed deeper into the nature of human personality, into its constituent parts and evolved a system of discipline which at once took into its grasp the body, the vital power, the rational mind, the emotional being and other elements. The problem which Yoga tries to tackle is the integration of all the powers and forces that constitute a personality and the harmonisation of all of them with a view to tuning them to the music of the universe. This system of discipline which in its general nature is called 'Yoga' is not the monopoly of any one Indian religion or faith or philosophy. It is a scientific method by which one tries to develop and har-

ness the forces within oneself and leads them through effective control towards the desired end.

In India Sanskrit became the vehicle of all great thought and culture. It is the mother of many languages in India and the 'foster-mother', if one can say so, of the Dravidian stock of languages. Not only is Sanskrit rich in religious, philosophical, ethical and moral literature, but it stands high as having given birth to mighty epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharat, the Agamas which are simplified religious thought, works on grammar and philology, on fine and useful arts as well as on sciences, like mathematics, astronomy and medicine. Sanskrit is so rich and capable of expansion as a language, that it is even today the source of vocabulary for all the Indian languages.

In the field of aesthetics and fine arts, India can boast of achievements in architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dancing. The history of these arts goes back to the 6th century B.C. and the tradition is not dead even today though there have been periods of depression. The famous cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora as well as the temples in Orissa, the great temples of the South, the Buddhist stupas, the Asokan pillars, stand as witnesses to those arts. Indian music and dancing has also a very long history and today we have in our midst masters in the different styles of music as well as varied ways of dancing.

The development of culture in India, its arts and sciences, was not something which happened in splendid isolation. She carried her religion, her arts and culture to numerous colonies. On account of her maritime activities and commercial intercourse with far off nations such as Greece and Rome to the West, and China and the numerous islands in Eastern Asia and the East Indies, India developed a number of industries and even today those useful arts and handicrafts are a living reality. The Muslims of Dacca, as late as the 19th century, are things known to every one who reads about Indian textiles. Statuary, embroidery, carving and so many other arts which combine industry with aesthetics are a living fact here even today.

Indian polity goes as far back as Asoka and Chandragupta. The edicts of Asoka, some of which contain very detailed instructions to his officers, are proof of the administrative skill and wisdom of the great Emperor. Kautilya's 'Artha Sastra' is a monu-

mental work on politics, administration and diplomacy. It is refreshing in its treatment and consummate in its grasp. India can boast of a long line of great administrators from Asoka to Sivaji during a period of 2000 years.

As regards the material sciences India has made distinct contributions to the sum-total of world knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, physics and engineering. It may be easily said that India was in the forefront of many of these sciences till the 15th century.

An Indian speaking about India is always likely to be charged with exaggeration. I would therefore give below a few words from the monumental book 'The Story of Civilization' by Will Durant, the great author and scholar of the United States of America :

"Nothing should more deeply shame the modern student than the recency and inadequacy of his acquaintance with India. Here is a vast peninsula.....an impressive continuity of development and civilization from Mohenjodaro, 2900 B.C. or earlier, to Gandhi, Raman and Tagore; faiths compassing every stage from barbarous idolatry to the most subtle and spiritual pantheism; philosophers playing a thousand variations on one monistic theme from the Upanishads eight centuries before Christ to Shankara eight centuries after him; scientists developing astronomy three thousand years ago, and winning Nobel prizes in our own time; a democratic constitution of untraceable antiquity in the villages, and wise and beneficent rulers like Ashoka and Akbar in the capitals; minstrels singing great epics almost as old as Homer, and poets holding world audiences today; artists raising gigantic temples for Hindu gods from Tibet to Ceylon and from Combodia to Java, or carving perfect places by the score for Mogul kings and queens—this is the India that patient scholarship is now opening up, like a new intellectual continent, to that Western mind which only yesterday thought civilization an exclusively European thing." There is no doubt that when the Western world began to advance in the modern sciences to build industries and to forge weapons of destruction, India for various reasons was found lagging behind. Thus while the West industrialised, invented fire-arms and other deadly weapons and organised and disciplined new armies and became ambitious of foreign conquests,

India, unfortunately, was disunited, shortsighted, parochial and lagging behind in the physical sciences. It was at this period of its decadence that India became the theatre of competition between the British, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. The British, however, finally won. But that was not the end either of Indian culture and civilization or of its vitality. Though politically conquered, she never reconciled herself to slavery. She kept on and struggled for freedom though that struggle was not very conspicuous all the time. No doubt, western influences were brought to bear on the Indian soil in a number of ways through education, through the starting of western institutions, through the introduction of the newspaper and the printing machine and the establishment of modern universities of the British type. India, ever receptive to new influences, soon tried to absorb without losing anchor some of the new trends of the west. Soon there was a vigorous renaissance which started in the last quarter of the 19th century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Vivekananda, Tilak, Aurabindo Ghosh, Rabindranath, Raman, Mahatma Gandhi, were some of the giants that became the pioneers and the supporters of the new movement. None of them were foreign to western influences except Ramakrishna Paramahansa, and yet they all drew their deepest inspiration and urge for action from the Indian soil and its ancient philosophy and culture. This proves beyond doubt that in human resources and in richness and variety of achievements, the capacity of the Indian people to throw up great individuals and to reach new heights from time to time can always be relied upon. And however difficult the circumstances, India has the capacity to meet them and march on and overcome any obstacles in the way of its progress.

We are today an independent republic with 360 million people. Though the majority profess the Hindu religion, there are millions who profess Islam and Christianity. They all live as brother citizens. There are also numerous sects and sub-sects which continue to profess their own faith. There are a dozen well-developed languages some of which can well boast of a past which goes back to the beginning of the Christian era. In customs and manners, in food and clothing, there is a baffling variety in our country. We are the inheritors of a unique pattern of culture which is the result of the coming and mingling together of various trends at various times. There have been

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clashes and conflicts and there must have been many lendings and borrowings, but in the process we have learnt to be tolerant, receptive, progressive and yet true to the roots which make the continuity obvious to all who observe. In spite of all the variety, unity persists. There is a unity of basic concepts and general beliefs. It is this continuity and vitality of our people which fills us with hope for as great a future as the glorious past. In this matter it is better that we conclude with the words of the great writer whom we have already quoted above. Will Durant, in his "Story of Civilization" (p.633) in bidding farewell to India, says: "One cannot conclude the history of India as one can conclude the history of Egypt or Babylonia, or Assyria; for that history is still being made, that civilization is still creating. Culturally India has been re-invigorated by mental contact with the West, and her literature today is as fertile and noble as any. . . . Economically India is passing, for better and for worse, out of medievalism into modern industry; her wealth and her trade will grow and before the end of the century she will doubtless be among the powers of the earth. . . . It is true that even across the Himalayan barrier India has sent to us such questionable gifts as grammar and logic, philosophy and fables, hypnotism and chess, and above all, our numerals and our decimal system. But these are not the essence of her spirit. . . . India will teach us the tolerance and gentleness of the mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying, pacifying love for all living things."

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

**I**T is in the general background of our great heritage that we have to take note of the coming of the British here as our conquerors and our struggle against them for freedom.

The British came here for trade in 1600 A.D. and stayed to build an empire. They had to compete in the beginning with other Western powers such as the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. In this competition for trade and territory the British triumphed and established their sovereignty throughout India. After 1818 they became the masters practically of the whole peninsula. It is through them that we came in close contact with Western civilization and all that it connotes.

The secret of their success in India lay in the following :

- (a) They were a maritime power and had a powerful navy while India had neglected it;
- (b) India was disunited. The different political powers had not the foresight to realise the evils of foreign supremacy and rule. No concerted and determined effort was made to oust the foreigners. They all fell a prey to the 'divide and rule' intrigues of the British;
- (c) We lacked modern weapons of warfare;
- (d) We were far behind the Europeans in military organisation and modern methods of war; and
- (e) No vigorous attempts were made by us to be up-to-date in the physical sciences.

However, Indians in one form or the other, in some corner or the other kept on a kind of desultory struggle against slavery. Since the British victory on the field of Plassey in 1757, a barrage of attacks, big and small, had been kept up to overthrow the British. Many of them were spasmodic and badly organised. Few were on a national scale. It is a pity that many British

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well as the other civil disobedience movements that the British Labour Party, which was then in power, thought it wise to depart as friends rather than stay as enemies.

The Congress passed through many stages before it became the mouthpiece of the nation and the mighty arm of the patriots. Founded in 1885 it kept on ventilating a number of grievances and demanding more posts and a greater share in the administration of the country. It was in 1906 under the Presidentship of Dadabhoi Naoroji that it first put forth a claim to Swaraj, which then meant "dominion status". But the sinister partition of Bengal in 1905 and the subsequent nationwide Swadeshi Movement that spread like wild fire generated a new kind of militant spirit and the country began to organise itself on the basis of self help, Swadeshi boycott, national education and thenceforward kept up a persistent demand for Swaraj. Repression followed. There were a number of prosecutions. Notable among them was that of Lokamanya Tilak for sedition. He was sentenced and sent to Mandalay for six years.

The next landmark in the history of the Congress was 1916, when the extremists who had walked out in 1907 re-entered and strengthened it. The days of Home Rule Movement electrified the country and a demand was made for Dominion Status from a thousand platforms. India had taken an important part in the World War I and she hoped that something substantial in the way of political rights would be conceded. But that was not to be. Instead, in 1919, the Rowlatt Bills, which were based on the Sedition Committee's Report, were passed.

In the meanwhile, Gandhiji had made his appearance in Indian politics. He had come with a halo of victory from South Africa. He had staged his special brand of non-violent action in Champaran and Kheda with success. His saintliness, his integrity, his sacrifice, his unquestioned patriotism, and, above all, his new yet tried weapon of Satyagraha, roused at once curiosity, respect and admiration among the millions of India. Silently yet surely his hold on the masses was growing and his following was rapidly increasing. He saw his opportunity when instead of concessions and transfer of political power, the Rowlatt Bills, called the "Black Bills", were foisted on India. He lost faith in the British empire, his sense of justice was outraged and he was thoroughly disillusioned regarding the British.

sense of fairplay. He launched his Satyagraha campaign in April 1919. The Jalianwalla Bagh tragedy and the ruthless murder of the innocents by the military came in its wake. Gandhi took the next step, forged Hindu-Muslim unity on the question of the Khilafat, and started the great non-violent, non-cooperation movement in 1920.

A new era in our political struggle dawned. Gandhiji's leadership gave inspiration to the lowest of the low and the weakest of the weak. Everyone felt that he too could do something worthwhile to liberate the country from degrading slavery. In addition to the political front Gandhiji developed the constructive programme of social and economic amelioration. In fact, he gave greater importance to the latter and said that work in that field was sure to bring real Swaraj of the masses.

During the first non-violent non-cooperation movement which lasted from August 1920 to March 1922, the whole country was shaken to its roots. There was an unparalleled upsurge of national feeling and patriotism. Literally a persistent war psychosis was created against British rule. This war, however, was one to be fought peacefully with moral weapons and by non-violent action. The sacrifice and suffering was to be entirely on the side of the soldiers of freedom. Thousands were thrown into prison. The accused readily admitted breaking the law, defended the breach on moral grounds, and courted suffering smilingly. Gandhiji, however, called off the struggle when there was wanton and deliberate violence by Congress volunteers at Chauri Choura. The reward for this withdrawal was an epic trial of Gandhiji for sedition and a six year imprisonment.

It is true that the movement did not succeed in its immediate objectives. But it released national energy on a gigantic scale and the thousand upon thousands that took part became the sworn enemies of the Government and soldiers of a permanent army that would not rest till Swaraj was won.

Then there emerged in 1923 a group in the Congress that took to legislatures and called it 'non-cooperation from within'. But Gandhiji who was released earlier than his term on account of illness, stood firmly along with a group of close followers, for



work among the masses and outside the legislatures. Thus the Congress carried on its vigorous struggle for freedom on three fronts, political agitation out of the legislatures, fight in the legislatures and constructive work among the masses. This went on till 1929 when, as a result of breakdown in talks between the leaders and the Government, the Congress, under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal declared complete independence as its objective. The country, from thousands of platforms, pledged itself on the 26th of January 1930 to fight under Gandhiji's leadership for complete independence. That was the prelude to the great Civil Disobedience, the Dandi March and Salt Satyagraha of 1930. This wave was far bigger, deeper and more extensive. Lacs of people broke the Salt Law. There were lathi charges and shootings in several places and there was no end to the spirit of sacrifice and suffering that men, women and children showed on this occasion.

It is neither possible nor necessary to describe in detail this and the non-violent struggles that followed. It is sufficient to say that the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership, became the most dynamic and militant force in the country and time after time, as occasion demanded, launched campaigns against the forces of British imperialism. In all, there were six Satyagraha campaigns, mass and individual, from 1919 to 1944. These, on the one hand broke the back of imperialism, and on the other, built and consolidated the forces of nationalism in the country. But the Congress was never satisfied merely by carrying on a struggle for political freedom. Side by side it struggled hard to carry on a comprehensive socio-economic programme among the masses. This developed out of the constructive programme initiated by Gandhiji. The main items were: the promotion of Khadi and village industries, attempts for economic equality, the organisation of peasants and labourers, basic education and adult instruction, communal unity, promotion of the national language, removal of untouchability, uplift of women and establishment of social equality, prohibition, medical relief and village uplift. Practical field work and constant dinning of these ideas into the ears of the people prepared their minds for these reforms. On the advent of freedom and at the time of framing the Constitution most of these items have found a distinguished place either as separate articles or in the chapter on Directives of State Policy.

The Congress today is running its sixty seventh year. It has a long and rich record of service of the people, constant work for their welfare and of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of freedom, political, social and economic. It has had its ups and downs, its vicissitudes, its troubles and tribulations. But it has emerged triumphant in its struggle for political freedom and is constantly endeavouring for fulfilling its socio-economic programmes. Its constancy and firmness, its sacrifice and suffering, its faithfulness to its ideals of peaceful methods and to the principles of nationalism and democracy, are hardly equalled by any other similar institution in the world. All this has been possible on account of the long line of eminent leaders like Aurobindo Ghose, Lajpat Rai, Tilak, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad. Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji have to be mentioned apart. The former breathed new life into it and forged it into a peaceful but a militant force. The latter has been and is today the most dynamic, the most forceful and the most progressive spirit that makes it move and act.

Today the Congress, through its President, reminds every Congressman of its high ideals and calls upon all to stand for nationalism, for national unity and for secular democracy. It calls us to a life of service and sacrifice in the cause of the people. It is the bounden duty of every one to respond to the call, to think and feel and act in terms of the nation, and to put our shoulders to the plan for plenty and prosperity to all.

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*The business of every well-wisher of the country is to condemn those parties which promote mischief and to leave no stone unturned to stop it.*—MAHATMA GANDHI.

## CHAPTER THREE

# FREEDOM CAME AND PROBLEMS TOO

**A**FTER all freedom came in August 1947. But long before that, the Muslim League, fed on communal hatred, had grown in strength. The British offered us freedom in 1947 on condition of the acceptance of partition or Pakistan. After much heart-searching and long consultations with the accredited representatives of the areas concerned, the Congress agreed to suffer partition. The only alternative then was the continuance of the fatal grip of the British rule along with the communal virus fostered by it in the body politic.

In the wake of partition came many things which gave rise to difficult problems. Few realise the magnitude of the problems and their variety which faced the country on the inauguration of independence on 15-8-1947 which ushered into existence the two dominions of India and Pakistan.

The partition in the form in which it came instead of laying Communalism at rest, let loose communal fury on an unprecedented scale. There was no end to massacre, arson, looting and inhuman crimes of the most heinous type. On account of these happenings, law and order position became delicate throughout the country, and migrations on a vast scale began both ways.

About 75 lacs of people crossed the border from West Punjab and later from Sind and East Bengal leaving everything behind in Pakistan. This is the refugee and rehabilitation problem which is still being tackled. This was really a question of finding new homes, occupation and life for vast masses of up-rooted humanity.

Another major problem was that of the States. The British declared that paramountcy lapsed and the 562 states were free to do anything including declaration of independence. They were however advised at the same time to accede to either dominion. Some states did not readily accept the advice and

there was enough trouble with Junagadh and Hyderabad. The problem of Kashmir still continues as tribals invited, incited and actively helped by Pakistan, invaded it and rushed to the very gates of Srinagar. The State then acceded to India and was freed by the Indian Army from the clutches of the invaders and the Pakistan troops. A big portion of it still remains with so-called Azad Kashmir forces. To avoid further bloodshed, we went up to the U.N.O. The latest position is, our troops are stationed there to avoid further infiltration or invasion either by tribals or by Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah, the beloved leader of the people and his team are running the administration as a Cabinet under the constitutional head, the Maharaja. A Constituent Assembly is now elected manned by the popular party known as the National Conference. Mr. Dixon, a jurist of international reputation, who was appointed as mediator by the Security Council of the U.N.O. has declared in his report dated 15-9-1950, in unmistakable terms that both the tribals and the Pakistan regulars entered Kashmir territory against all international law. In spite of the fact that Kashmir's accession to India is final, India has accepted that Kashmir may decide its future once again by plebiscite, provided that normal conditions are restored, by the tribals and Pakistanis clearing out of Kashmir territory, by the return of Kashmiris who have migrated out of fear, and by giving undisputed possession of the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir into the hands of the legitimate Government of the State. Pakistan, while agreeing to decision by plebiscite, refuses to agree to the other conditions and insists that Indian troops should withdraw and that plebiscite should be taken under the direct auspices of the U.N.O., aided by international troops, if necessary. Dr. Graham who came as a mediator after Dixon has now submitted a report to the Security Council making proposals for further mediation regarding demilitarisation and plebiscite.

The British, while here, exploited the country in every way but took no particular care to develop it and we continue to be very backward in industries, in the development of electric power, in agriculture, in education and so on. We are one of the poorest countries in the world though we are rich in potential resources. We are often described as poor people living in a rich country.

In addition to this, in spite of independence century-long slavery and war were very mu

day of independence. Short supply of food and essentials, blackmarketing, corruption, bribery were in evidence as in some other countries.

Indo-Pakistan relations have not been unfortunately what they should or could have been normally. That has put a severe strain not only on our defence expenditure but made it necessary to re-arrange our whole economy. Indian economy since milleniums had grown as one, and if, inspite of partition, normal relations between India and Pakistan had been maintained, it could have been possible to develop a kind of mutually complementary economy. But that was not to be. Therefore, not only in the matter of food but also in the matter of jute and cotton and some other things India had to make huge efforts to be self-sufficient.

From the point of view of the structure of the State and future governance, the Government of India Act 1935 was out of date and had to be overhauled. A new Constitution suited to the genius of the people and fit for a democratic republic had to be forged. The main structure had to be such as would correspond to the high ideals for which the Congress stood. From a police state India was to be transformed into a welfare State. And this had to be done under trying circumstances when conditions were still unsteady and disturbing.

On the administrative side, the British left us a machine which they had developed for their own purposes and for running a police state. Even that was very much depleted of its manpower on account of the departure of British personnel. It was further dislocated on account of a number of experienced Muslim officials opting out for Pakistan.

On the advent of Swaraj, the vast masses of India who have been Congress-minded throughout the last three decades, expected a millenium. They could little imagine the difficulties in the path of rapid progress and they could not be easily satisfied by explanations when their demand was for cheaper and better food and clothing, sufficient work, and easier conditions of living.

This roughly was the situation and these were the main problems when freedom came.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONGRESS IN HARNESS

**I**N the last chapter some important problems which faced us in 1947 have been indicated. It is now necessary to make a brief survey as to how the Congress in power at the centre during the last four years faced these problems bravely and confidently. It is true that there has not been a full measure of success in all matters. But the Congress is convinced that it is going the right way and in the right manner and success will come in due course.

When the Congress took power from the British on 15th August 1947 and began to function through the Constituent Assembly and the Cabinet, there was practically no organised opposition in the House. But the Congress, during its struggle for freedom, had always claimed that it was fighting for the independence of the country and not merely for gaining power for itself. It had now a chance to prove this claim. During the elections to the Constituent Assembly the Congress took good care to include a large number of eminent Indians who were not party-men. When the question of the formation of the Cabinet came up, the Congress included a number of non-Congressmen. Dr. Ambedkar was made the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. Thus it proved by its action what it had claimed all the time.

Long before independence, the Congress had been in power in the majority of provinces in 1937-39 when it first took up the responsibility of forming governments there. The Congress governments in the provinces with very limited powers were trying to implement the election manifesto issued by the Congress in 1937 and the resolutions of the Congress which embodied its general principles and policies.

The broad outlines of the Manifesto issued in 1937 as summarised by Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his History of the Congress are as follows:— “The manifesto dwelt upon the economic crisis in India and the poverty and unemployment of the peasantry and the industrial workers. The problem of

national independence has therefore become an urgent one for the vast millions. But their struggles in this behalf have only resulted in intense depression and the suppression of Civil Liberties. The Congress has rejected the Government of India Act of 1935 and has resolved to develop internal strength by working in the legislatures. The policy of Congressmen will be to resist British Imperialism and to end its various Regulations, Ordinances and Acts. It stands by the Karachi Resolution relating to Fundamental Rights and Duties and will give its first attention to Prohibition, Land Reform, reduction of burdens on lands, war taxation or rent, the removal of intermediaries, the scaling down of debts, and cheap credit facilities. In the domain of industrial labour, decent standard of living, regulated hours of work and conditions of labour, settlement of disputes and relief against old age, sickness and unemployment and the right to form Unions and to declare strikes, will be the reforms aimed at. Removal of sickness-disability maternity-benefits and protection of women workers, equality, with men in regard to the privileges and obligations of citizenship, the removal of untouchability and uplift of the Harijans and backward classes, encouragement of Khadi and Village Industries, improvement in the treatment of political prisoners, readjustment of communal claims will largely constitute the programme of the Congress in the legislatures. The question of acceptance or otherwise of Ministries would be considered after the elections."

The next elections including those to the Centre took place in 1945-46 and another Election Manifesto was issued by the Congress on that occasion. As the whole manifesto is important and as it was issued almost immediately before Congress assumed full power in 1947, it is being quoted in full in the appendices.

Apart from the principles and policies embodied in the two Election Manifestoes the Congress has stood for certain broad principles of action. Since its very inception it has stood firm by nationalism as against communalism or sectional interests. It has stood for democracy as against all other forms of Government. It has stood for a secular state which means that it would treat all religions and all sects and creeds equally without any partiality for either the one or the other. It has always stood for social and economic justice and for freedom of opinion,

expression, of religion and of faith. As regards our relations with other countries, the Congress has always stood for friendship with every other nation and for evolving a world federation of free nations which would cooperate for the common purpose of keeping the world free from war and for working for the peace and prosperity of all.

Immediately on the attainment of freedom the Congress formed the Central Government and India began to function as an independent nation. During the last four years the Congress has tried its best to see that the principles and programmes which it has always stood for are implemented to the greatest possible extent under the difficult circumstances that presented themselves.

It is necessary to see as to what were the exact difficulties that faced the Congress Government. Some of the problems and difficulties such as poverty, were the result of centuries of slavery and exploitation by a ruthless foreign power. Then there was the partition which came in the wake of an agitation based on communal hatred and enmity. It was followed by massacres and by the ruin of millions of families. The partition caused also the disruption of the economic life of the country. Then there were the legacies of war, namely scarcity of essential materials, controls, corruption and black marketing. There was also depletion of man-power in the services owing to the sudden departure of British personnel and some others. On top of it, the Congress had to fulfill the expectations of the general public on account of the advent of Swaraj.

There was no other organisation in the field except the Congress which could take up the responsibility of forming and running the Government throughout the land. This organisation alone of all others had a long tradition of service and sacrifice in the cause of the people. It is intended to indicate here briefly as to how the Congress under trying circumstances made strenuous efforts to apply its principles and to transform the country into a land where people could live with all the freedoms that make life worth living. In the space at our command, it may be possible only to state briefly what has been aimed at, what has been attempted, what has been attained and what is yet to be strenuously striven after and achieved in the near future.



## SECURITY, LAW AND ORDER

In a modern state, whichever the party in power, its primary duty is to safeguard the State from foreign aggression and to keep order within its borders. The Congress in power addressed itself to the security of the country consistently with its policy of friendship with other nations. The traditions of the Indian armed forces have been glorious. For bravery, for discipline, for individual acts of valour our soldiers are well-known. They were, however, not given away initiative during the British regime. When that opportunity offered itself after independence the qualities of leadership leapt to the fore. The conduct of Kashmir operations have shown to the world that Indian soldiers are capable of military feats which are the admiration of discerning foreigners. The mention of the battle of Zozila pass and the defence of Ladak is sufficient for our purposes here. The army, the navy and the air force are being built up according to necessity and within limitations imposed by finance. Unfortunately the strained relations with Pakistan on one or two occasions during the last four years were the cause of anxiety. But the readiness and the confidence of our forces to face any eventuality was enough to avert danger, if there was any.

There is another important feature of our armed forces which has become far more prominent now. It is the organised and efficient services that they have rendered to the people in emergent circumstances such as refugee evacuation and relief, floods, earthquakes etc. They are no longer mere fighting machines. They are human and are the blood of our blood and are as ready to help us in difficulties as to fight our battles against our enemies.

Maintenance of law and order throughout this vast land is as important as national security itself. No doubt this is the responsibility of the provinces. But the problem of internal peace is one of national importance. During the last four years communal forces and their fury, the unsteady conditions in some of the states, the rush of the refugees, some forces of disorder which became active at the time of the change-over were all responsible for disturbance of peace in certain areas. Notably certain subversive elements such as the Communist Party of India indulged in violent acts on a large scale such

murder, arson, loot and sabotage. Telengana was their special field of activity. They also tried to instigate strikes among students and refugees and dislocate transport services in cities like Bombay and Calcutta. Some communal organisations like the Muslim League, the R.S.S., the Akali Dal were responsible for disturbing conditions at different places at different times. The Razakar menace in Hyderabad is notorious. To add to this, there were the anti-social activities of hoarders, blackmarketeers and those who indulged in bribery. But it can be said now with some relief that except some pockets in Hyderabad State where communists are even now operating, the country is rid of the menace of violence by both communists and communalists. The credit goes to the full cooperation of the people and to Congress governments in the respective states for their firm handling of the situation.

Blackmarketing, corruption and bribery are sometimes the accompaniments of short supply and controls. These came to us as legacies of war. The Congress governments are dealing with them with no soft gloves as can be evidenced by prosecutions launched and convictions secured. The Preventive Detention Act also has been used in many cases irrespective of the status and wealth of people indulging in such anti-social activities. The Congress has always stood for communal unity and for a secular state. In fact, it was the very life-breath of Gandhiji and he laid down his life fighting for that cause. The Congress is as clear about stamping out all methods of violence in the matter of bringing about changes in the political, social or economic order of society. The Congress which believes in democratic principles knows that violence and the atmosphere created by it acts like poison against democracy and democratic institutions. Therefore, the Congress attaches special importance to peace and order and to peaceful methods. The violent way is the direct road to dictatorship and to authoritarianism which the Congress abhors.

## NEW LIFE FOR MILLIONS

Partition was accepted as an issue after full consultations with the people. So, more than seven and half million poured into India both from West and East. Their peaceful and speedy evacuation,

subsequent rehabilitation was a problem so stupendous in magnitude that not even the whole of Europe had such a big problem to solve after World War II. This problem has been handled in India with as much speed and efficiency as was possible under the circumstances. Evacuation is no longer a problem. As regards relief, today there are only 1.46 lakhs people in temporary camps and there are about 23,000 unattached women and children in 41 homes taking education and learning vocations.

So far as peasants are concerned, twenty four out of twenty five displaced peasants have been settled on land. They were given loans for implements and for settling down. As available land was not enough, more land was brought under cultivation. Rehabilitation of the urban population and of the professionals and artisans was not so easy. But they were given loans and some townships have been built specially for them. Faridabad near Delhi is an example of how self-respecting refugees with self-help as their motto can build a modern industrial town entirely by their own labour and skill. Most of the townships are self-contained as regards water, electricity, school, shopping centre and so on.

The question of evacuee property has proved to be a tough one on account of the attitude adopted by the Pakistan Government. Now one step towards the solution of this problem is being taken and that is the registration of all claims of the displaced persons and a full census of the property left here by Muslim evacuees. If Pakistan does not change its attitude, we shall have to solve the problem partially at least by allocations of properties left here.

A glance at the figures in the appendix will give an idea as to how the problem has been tackled and what amount of money, labour and administrative skill had gone into the sincere effort to rehabilitate our displaced brethren.

We do not claim that the problem has been solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. We are in entire sympathy with those who were exposed to the distress and tragedy that followed the partition. We are aware that almost every displaced person carries in his heart a tragic tale of suffering, sorrow, and agony. But we can assure everybody that no pain has been

spared and no money stinted to see that the utmost that can be done under the circumstances has been attempted. The problem that once threatened to upset the whole economy of the country, is now well under control thanks to the bravery and the adaptability of the bulk of the displaced. A few months more and the work well-begun may be over.

## A WRITTEN CONSTITUTION

In spite of the preoccupations and the various important problems the country was facing, the Constituent Assembly got busy with Constitution making. A written Constitution, comprehensive in its grasp and complete in details was forged within three years in the very thick of other parliamentary, legislative and administrative work. It was inaugurated in January 1950 on independence day, thirty one years after the solemn pledge for complete independence had been taken by the country. It is a piece of constructive statesmanship of which any country would be proud. The Congress played a major role in this matter.

When in wilderness, one of the dreams of the Congress was to frame a Constitution through a Constituent Assembly. As early as 1936 Pandit Jawaharlal declared from the Presidential chair at the Lucknow Congress that 'a Constituent Assembly is the only proper and democratic method for the framing of our Constitution'. And so it came about in 1950.

One of the important questions that came up early for decision was our continuance as a dominion in the Commonwealth. But the Congress ideal to become a democratic republic was supreme and it was left to the Commonwealth to adjust itself and retain us if it wanted. That the Commonwealth did. It was as early as 1931 when the Congress at Karachi passed a resolution on certain fundamental rights. Since then the Congress has progressively amended them here and there. The latest form which the fundamental rights took appears in the election manifesto of 1945-46. But when the opportunity came, fundamental rights as well as directives of state policy were incorporated into the Constitution. Today both stand, the one as the safeguard of the birth-right of individuals and the other as lines along which the state has to progress in order to evolve a well-knit nation which stands for peace and prosperity. These directives enjoin future legislatures and executives to

ensure for the people adequate means of livelihood, equal work, free and compulsory education, and a large number of other social, political and economic measures. In fact, they are directives for the bringing into existence of a full-fledged welfare state.

The Indian Republic is entirely democratic in so far as the right to vote has been extended to every man and woman who has attained twenty one years. Some other important features of the Constitution are that it is secular and guarantees the freedom of every minority to practise its own religion. Liberty, social justice, equality of opportunity and fundamental rights without any distinction of race, caste, colour, religion or sex are the highlights of the Constitution. Untouchability in every form, which was characterised as a blot on Hindu society by Gandhiji has been declared to be an offence by the Constitution.

Under this Constitution, there is a single citizenship throughout the land for all the 360 millions. The age old feudal and autocratic systems of administration having been swept away, there is today a single system of administration based on the rule of law passed by the Legislatures of the Country. The Congress has been trying for the last thirty years to have a lingua-franca for India. Here in the Constitution, a separate chapter has been devoted for providing such a language.

Within fifteen years the official language of the republic is going to be Hindi and that language has to be encouraged and promoted throughout the land as a common language. This measure is an important step in achieving national solidarity which has been one of the objectives of the Congress since its very inception.

The framers of the Constitution knew that no Constitution is good unless it safeguards the interests of the people against possible misuse of executive power. The Supreme Court and the judiciary of the land stand as the guardian angels of all law and administration of justice. That is the first safeguard. Then there are the fundamental rights which are guaranteed and are justiciable. Next comes the institution of the Accountant Generals' department which would keep vigil over the proper use of public money. Last but not the least are the all-important Public Service Commissions which would be in charge of important recruitment to services.

In brief, the Constitution embodies the main principles of secularism, democracy, national welfare, rule of law, equality of opportunity and social justice for which the Congress has always stood and fought and sacrificed. What was once only in the world of ideas and but a plank in the field of agitation has now been transformed into a cogent, well-thought out written constitution so that orderly progress may be ensured for generations to come.

### CONSOLIDATION PAR EXCELLENCE

One of the most outstanding questions at the time of the attainment of independence was that of the states. The British had always looked upon the states as their second line of defence. It is true that simultaneously with the struggle for freedom from British rule in British India, a persistent struggle of varying intensity for democratic rule in 'Indian India', that is, in the 562 states, was being carried on. This struggle became almost universal after the Congress governments assumed power in 1937 in the several provinces of India. The people in the states started peaceful 'rebellion' against autocracy and despotic monarchy prevalent in the states. In some of the states almost feudal conditions were ruling.

The Congress policy in this matter was to encourage self-help and to allow the democratic strength of the people to develop itself against the local autocratic powers. The Congress therefore did not like to take direct responsibility for the struggle in the states. This resulted in the development of healthy confidence among the people in the states. In several of them men of ability came forward ready to sacrifice and suffer in the cause of democracy. The States People's Conference had already come into existence and it gave guidance and support to the peoples' struggles in several states.

With the advent of independence, the British declared that paramountcy had lapsed and that the states were free to accede to India or Pakistan. This created a piquant situation and many states situated even in the midst of Indian territory dreamt of independence and sometimes of alliance with Pakistan. But Sardar Patel's shrewdness, firmness, and statesmanship was equal to the occasion. He made a general appeal in the following words :

## HANDBOOK FOR CONGRESSMEN

"This country with its institutions is the proud heritage of the people who inhabit it. It is an accident that some live in the States and some live in British India. But all alike partake of its culture and character. We are all knit together by bonds of blood and feeling, no less than of self-interest. None can segregate us into segments; no impassable barriers can be set up between us. I suggest that it is therefore better for us to make laws sitting together as friends than to make treaties as aliens. I invite my friends, the Rulers of States and their people, to the Councils of the Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour inspired by common allegiance to our motherland for the common good of us all."

He pointed out that the forces of democracy were so powerful that all autocracy and monarchical rule would be swept off its feet if it did not make peace with democracy in time.

It must be said to the credit of the princes that they saw the writing on the wall and one by one they all acceded to the Union. Once for all, feudalism was swept clean from the land and monarchy, where it remained, was shorn of its sting and remained only as an ornament. There was, no doubt, some trouble regarding Junagadh and Hyderabad. But ultimately democratic forces prevailed.

As a result, most of the smaller states merged in the neighbouring provinces. Some of the bigger ones formed into unions of states and a few like Hyderabad, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir remained separate units but subject to the Constitution of India. The first move for merger started in Orissa on January 1, 1948, ended by the merger of Cooch Behar in West Bengal on January 1, 1950. 216 states with an approximate area of 108,739 square miles and about 19.158 millions of people were involved in the process.

By January 26, 1950 the process of the formation of unions of states also had completed and the Republic started with a political and administrative unity unknown to India for centuries. This was a bloodless political unification and integration, as much unknown to history as the peaceful transfer of power by Britain the greatest empire to its own dependency, India.

Today, the whole of India is politically united, administratively integrated, and economically one and indivisible. The political and economic interests of the 360 millions are one as a direct result of the integration of states.

## A NATION AMONG NATIONS

During the British regime India had hardly any international status worth the name. Immediately after the withdrawal of the British, India burst on the international scene and she had opportunities to establish contact with several countries. They too in turn were anxious to open diplomatic relations with us. Many of them took the initiative in the matter. Now India maintains abroad twenty embassies, sixteen legations, seven high commissions, fourteen consulates, five commissions and ten missions and agencies. No less than 37 important countries have their embassies in our capital.

Though India had no foreign relations as such before independence, the Congress was never oblivious of other sister countries in the world and of world events. It had always an attitude and an outlook which was often reflected in its resolutions and election manifestos. Remarkably enough the Election Manifesto issued in 1945-46 had the following:

"In international affairs the Congress stands for the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations. Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations and particularly with her neighbours. In the Far East, in South-East Asia and in Western Asia, India has had trade and cultural relations for thousands of years and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations. Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand closer contacts with these regions. India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples, for, only on the basis of the freedom and the elimination of Imperialism everywhere can world peace be established."

It is along these very lines that India's foreign policy has been moulded. There is obvious need for us here to



conditions which would favour self-development after the long slavery and ruthless exploitation to which we were subjected. India's independent foreign policy which steers clear of power blocs is sometimes misunderstood and criticised by those who wish India to ally herself with either of the blocs or toe the line of other countries. Our Prime Minister who is our Foreign Minister as also the President of the Congress is the maker of our present-day policies and a firm believer in the policy of peace and friendliness.

This policy has so far been vindicated by events. India has always thrown her full weight on the side of peace and has advocated moderation and patience. India has stood for the freedom of nations, has always raised her voice against imperialism and colonialism, and has upheld the cause of suppressed nations.

India condemned aggression in Korea from the beginning. But when that condemnation was sought to be turned into an instrument for the furtherance of sectional or ulterior interests, she withdrew from that unworthy proceeding. Bearing in mind that the only possible object of UN action in Korea could be the restoration of peace, she advocated the limitation of the area of conflict and readmission of China into the comity of nations. As later events showed, much bloodshed and misery could have been avoided if her advice had been taken; even the present negotiations for a truce would have been greatly facilitated if the People's Republic of China had been recognised by all concerned.

Far from being "neutral" in international politics, India takes a special interest in oppressed and underprivileged nations; hence Asia and Africa bulk large in her foreign affairs. Every progressive movement in these continents has always found a staunch supporter in India: witness India's contribution to Indonesia's brave struggle for independence and the liberation of the people of former Italian colonies.

The birth of the People's Republic of China marked the culmination of a people's movement, though against a different kind of opposition. Not to recognise the new regime in China is to be unsympathetic to the aspirations of Asia. Without an eastern orientation they are apt to be misunderstood and

confused with other issues. Lack of sympathy and wrong-headed action can make the confusion worse confounded and the opposite of the desired end may ensue. India, however, has kept her head and would welcome her in the counsels of the United Nations.

Racialism is another issue on which India takes a definite stand. She cannot tolerate it in any form anywhere. She has strongly protested against the apartheid policy of the South African Government and brought it before the bar of world opinion which is bound to prevail over the manoeuvres and subterfuges of that Government.

India is most fortunate in her relations with her immediate neighbours. On the friendly intervention of the Indian Government, the differences between the King of Nepal, the Prime Minister and the Nepali Congress were composed and Nepal was set on the road to democracy. The ancient bonds of religion and culture with Nepal were strengthened by treaties of peace and friendship and trade. Similar treaties have been signed with Bhutan and Sikkim also.

The alarming situation in Tibet was relieved by timely and cool-headed action on the part of India. While Tibet was encouraged to send a delegation to Peking in order to open direct negotiations, China was persuaded by India to halt her march to Lhasa. In this connection, it may be said that India is one of the few countries which have diplomatic missions in Peking.

Against these successes and encouragements, a disappointment has to be recorded with regret. In spite of the grave provocations which Pakistan gave India by invading Kashmir, and by many other hostile acts, India has sought her friendship. Pakistan's treatment of her minorities is particularly scandalous. Having squeezed out practically all the non-Muslims from West Punjab and Sind, a systematic campaign was started against them in East Bengal. Many Hindus were massacred and thousands of them driven out of the country. Pakistan's atrocities came to a head in February 1950, and in the end the Prime Minister succeeded in persuading the Pakistan Prime Minister to sign an agreement on April 8, which mainly bore on the welfare of minorities. But, unfortunately, it cannot be

said that a *modus vivendi* has yet been reached with Pakistan. The Congress seeks to follow the same policy now that it has hitherto followed. To follow any other, either with intent to join any of the 'blocs' or for the purpose of getting help from more powerful nations, would be to mortgage our future and to drift, we do not know where. Our Election Manifesto issued recently declares, 'this policy which has borne some fruit already, will, no doubt, yield further results and should be pursued'.

Many a time our foreign policy is criticised by our own countrymen and by other parties. This is not the place where a full reply can be given to all of them. But this much can be told here, that whatever the criticism at home or abroad, the prestige of India has gone up during the last four years and her voice is listened to with respect if not always with approval. The unbounded popularity at home of our Foreign Minister, his international reputation for integrity and dynamic leadership and his successful visit to U.S.A., Canada, England and other countries have all contributed to the status India has carved for herself in the international sphere.

## OUR FINANCES

The Congress while it laid stress on the political objective during the nation's struggle attended no less to the social and economic aspects of our ultimate ideal. The whole of the constructive programme laid down by the Father of the Nation was always in the forefront of the Congress. The comprehensive programme included such important items as Swadeshi, Khadi and Village industries on the economic side and the removal of untouchability and uplift of women on the social side.

On the advent of freedom, the Congress was under the obligation to try to see that India developed its material resources and Indian masses had a fair deal in the economic and social spheres of life. It was natural therefore that from a mere revenue collecting machine and one which kept note of the expenditure of the State the Finance Department of the Government of India transformed itself into one in charge of almost nationwide economic functions.

Since 1947, there has been an increase in the scope and initiative of the Government which has undertaken various development schemes such as river valley projects, land reclamation schemes, a fertiliser factory at Sindri, a locomotive factory at Chittaranjan and an aircraft factory at Bangalore. There are other directions in which the responsibilities of the Ministry of Finance have grown. India has a clear-cut fiscal policy to suit her national interests and it is carried out by the Reserve Bank of India in close cooperation with the Ministry. The Ministry also maintains liaison with International Monetary Fund. In partnership with certain other Commonwealth countries, India is working out a plan of development for all under-developed countries of the South East Asian region.

"Unfortunately, these additional responsibilities devolved on the Government at a time of crisis. The problem of food, for example, has assumed alarming proportions in recent years, so that large sums of money have to be found for imports of foodgrains from abroad. In 1948-49, India had an adverse balance of payments with both the hard currency countries and the sterling area. In 1949, the adverse balance stood at Rs. 187.59 crores and exports to hard currency areas were also on the decline. After devaluation, however, the situation improved considerably. Thus during the financial year 1950-51, India had already a favourable balance of Rs. 46.85 crores and this improvement is expected to be maintained during the forthcoming years.

India built up huge sterling credits during World War II through services and supplies to the UK to assist her in her war effort. Our total sterling credits amounted to Rs. 1,516 crores. The amount withdrawn from it includes Rs. 201 crores which was Pakistan's share of the balances. Initially, a sum of Rs. 296 crores was also paid to His Majesty's Government as the capital value of sterling-pensions and as payments towards surplus defence stores taken over by us. Only Rs. 142 crores have been used to meet deficits in our balance of payments. The best part of the sum has been spent in buying food from abroad. A part of this money was used to import capital goods, industrial raw materials, and consumer goods.

India's prosperity will depend upon the success of the development projects of the central and the state governments. T



the people are expected to bear present hardship cheerfully for the future prosperity, the Government has also effected a good deal of economy in their expenditure in recent times. Audit control has also been tightened.

India has concluded three master agreements with UNESCO, FAO and ILO and an agreement with the USA under the Truman Point Four Programme. Under these agreements, India will receive free technical assistance from abroad for use in her development projects.

The Congress ideals as embodied in the articles of the Constitution regarding future state policy clearly point to the evolution of a welfare state. It is to implement those ideals that the financial policy of the country must address itself. The process might be slow on account of various factors, especially for want of adequate finances immediately and technical personnel. But there is no doubt that a sure advance is being made in the right direction.

## FOOD AND LAND

There are many in our country who talk against controls. They little know that every modern State worth the name has to take note of scarcity and short supply especially of essential articles such as food and cloth. What other way is there except control, procurement and rationing to see that there is comparatively an equitable distribution of what is available? The alternative is a 'scramble, hoarding by the rich, inordinately high prices and starvation by those who cannot pay those prices.

There are again many who speak glibly about the problem of food and agriculture. The food crisis started long before the Congress took power. It worsened after partition because while 82 per cent of the mouths to feed in Punjab came to our lot we got only 69 per cent of the land. Moreover, the unfriendly relations between Pakistan and India necessitated our trying to become self-sufficient in jute and cotton as well. To add to this, Burma which was our chief source of rice before war has not yet been able to produce rice on pre-war scale and our population is increasing at the rate of five millions per year while the cultivable land remains almost the same.

It is in this perspective that this problem has to be studied and the attempts to solve it have to be assessed.

At present India has no alternative but to import food. In fact food was imported as early as 1943 in order to cover the deficit and is still being imported, draining her of valuable foreign exchange.

Fortunately, this deficit is not due to any lack of land, but to a foreign government's indifference in the past. Thus in 1947 India had only 198 million acres of land under cultivation for a population of more than 320 million—at least 20 per cent less than what should have been the normal. Even this land was neglected and could not produce as much as it should have done. In India, the yield of wheat is 660 lbs. per acre, while in a country like Egypt it is as high as 1,918 lbs. This low yield clearly demonstrates the necessity of intensive cultivation with the help of improved implements, seeds and manure.

Consequently, the Government of India initiated a five-year plan and adopted various methods to increase the production of food crops. Early in 1949, it launched a self-sufficiency campaign calculated to produce an additional 4.8 million tons of food crops during 1950-51. The end of the crop year of 1951 was fixed as the deadline, whereafter there would be no more imports except to build up a central reserve or to meet an emergency created by the failure of crops. Unfortunately, as we all know, the emergency did arise following drought in Madras, floods in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and a series of earthquakes in Assam—all in the same year. These calamities destroyed nearly 5.5 million tons of foodgrains, and not only neutralized the effects of the self-sufficiency drive, but created a fresh deficit necessitating heavy imports in 1951.

The five-year plan included intensive cultivation and reclamation of land. In order to secure the co-operation of the agriculturists, farmers' unions were organised in the rural areas. The intensive cultivation schemes were divided broadly into permanent and recurring schemes. The permanent schemes included minor irrigation works such as the construction of wells, tanks, channels and small dams, besides land improvement measures. The recurring schemes related mainly to the production and distribution of improved seed, the application

of manure and fertilizers, composting of refuse, and plant protection. Work under these schemes was intensified by stages so as to achieve a progressive increase in the yield per acre.

In order to bring cultivable waste land under the plough the Government set up a Central Tractor Organisation in 1947 with 180 tractors at its disposal. This Organisation has carried out some of the largest reclamation operations in Asia, including the reclamation of *kans*-infested land in Madhya Pradesh. *Kans*, a wild growth with roots going down as deep as fourteen inches, was once thought to be ineradicable, and the villagers were at first apathetic to the Government's scheme. As the work progressed, however, their indifference was transformed into enthusiasm and active co-operation. Now the crops produced in the reclaimed land are found to be superior to those grown in other areas. Reclamation has cost the Government Rs. 1.8 million, while the value of the crop raised on the reclaimed land is estimated at Rs. 6 million.

Similar schemes are in progress in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal and other parts of the country.

The success of these schemes led to the extension of the scope of the Organisation's activities. In 1949, a loan of \$ 10 million was obtained from the World Bank for the purchase of 375 heavy tractors. Of these, 240 have already arrived and been put to work.

During the three years ending in 1949-50, the Central Tractor Organisation reclaimed 183,374 acres of land in various States increasing the total food production by 51,000 tons. In 1951-52 it proposes to reclaim another 280,000 acres which will yield an additional 80,000 tons of food.

The main features of the intensive cultivation plan are the sinking and repairing of wells, construction or repair of tanks, minor irrigation works, installation of water-lifting appliances, distribution of fertilizers and oil cakes and utilization of compost and other manures. As a result of this drive the country obtained 3.44 million tons of additional foodgrains between 1948 and 1951. It was hoped that the balance of 1.4 million tons would be made up by the end of March 1952 through the reclamation of seven to eight hundred thousand acres of land, the sinking of



300 tube-wells, and intensive cultivation in areas which could easily be irrigated.

While it has to be admitted that self-sufficiency in food has not yet been achieved, it must not be forgotten that but for the efforts made in that direction the country would have had to import almost double the amount of food she actually does. The main ground of the Government's hope of success is not only the application of mechanical aids but also the enthusiasm and support of the people.

In the Etawa district of Uttar Pradesh, for instance, food production has increased from nine maunds to twenty-three maunds an acre on an average. This success was gained, as the Prime Minister pointed out at a press conference, not by specially treating the land or employing mechanical devices but by greater efforts on the part of the villagers.

To encourage popular enthusiasm crop competitions have been organised, both by the Centre and the States. Under the Central scheme, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research recently conferred the title of "Krishi Pandit" on three cultivators—two from Uttar Pradesh and one from Bengal—for their "outstanding contribution to the cause of agriculture."

Uninformed criticism boggles at the figure the Government spent on the self-sufficient drive during the past three years: to wit Rs. 580 million. It, however, fails to see the returns it brought. The net gain was 3.44 million tons of additional foodgrains. Thus a total investment of Rs. 580 million brought Rs. 1,160 million in the first year and Rs. 720 million thereafter.

The self-sufficiency programme also includes production of jute and cotton, vital for our jute and textile industries, which between them earn considerable foreign exchange. The jute industry needs 7.25 million bales of jute every year. After partition the major jute growing areas went to Pakistan and India became deficient in jute to the extent of 5.5 million bales. Similarly, our yearly consumption of the East Indian variety of cotton is 4.07 million bales. Owing to partition much of the cotton growing area now forms part of Pakistan and production in 1949-50 fell to 2.97 million bales. In order to meet the situation an integrated production programme was drawn up where-

y some land was diverted from food to cash crop. The additional output in jute under this programme has been estimated at 1.2 million bales. By March 1952 India expects to produce .05 million bales (3.85 plus 1.2 million bales), that is, nearly three-fourths of our requirements of jute. At the same time, cotton production is expected to rise to 4.1 million bales, which is more than our present total needs. It has been calculated that the diversion of land to jute and cotton will involve a possible loss of 900,000 tons of foodgrains. This loss will be more than counterbalanced by the additional output of jute and cotton, the net gain being in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,608 million.

The Government also initiated a countrywide drive for the preparation of compost from human, cattle and vegetable waste hitherto burnt or thrown into the rivers. A number of States have now made it obligatory for the municipalities to convert waste and sewage into compost. In 1949-50, 890 municipalities prepared one million tons of compost from urban refuse while 40,000 villages prepared another five million tons of compost. In addition, the Government fertilizer factory at Sindri will eventually provide 35,000 tons of fertilizers.

The Congress has always been aware that agricultural production cannot be increased substantially without agrarian reforms. The very best facilities in seed, manure and water-supply and the most improved technique will fail to produce the desired result if the agriculturist does not have the privilege of fixed tenure, fair rent and freedom to transfer. Thus it will be seen that agrarian reforms are essential not merely for ending exploitation of one class by another but are a pre-requisite for rehabilitating Indian agriculture. The Congress, in its 1945-46 Election Manifesto, declared: "The reform of the land system, which is so urgently needed in India, involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should therefore be acquired on payment of equitable compensation." In accordance with the policy enunciated above, the Governments of the U.P., Bihar and Madras accepted the principles of abolition of Zamindari. Provinces like Orissa, Bihar, Madras and the U.P. amended their existing Tenancy Acts during the year 1946-47 and thus paved the way for the implementation of the agrarian reforms that the Congress wanted to bring about. Further necessary land reforms are envisaged in the report of the Planning Commission.

What has been so well begun by such methods as land reclamation, intensive cultivation and integrated production will surely be completed by the benefits of river valley and other development projects which are now being executed. India bids fair to be again a land of plenty.

## HARNESSING RIVERS

Cheap irrigation and cheap electricity, that is the main secret of producing more food and giving more power. The Congress which is pledged to raising the standard of the masses could not but think in terms of harnessing the many water-courses of India and of launching multipurpose schemes. The control of devastating floods is an incidental gain.

Today altogether there are 135 river valley projects under execution. Of them eleven are multi-purpose, sixty irrigation and sixty-four purely power projects. When completed they will have cost the Government some Rs. 5,900 million. The major projects alone, numbering twelve, are estimated to cost Rs. 4,390 million. Eight of these are multi-purpose in their scope, three power schemes and one is an irrigation scheme. Expenditure on the various irrigation and power schemes totalled Rs. 394,600 in 1949-50 and Rs. 785,900,000 in the following year. The multi-purpose projects are so called because of the manifold benefits they confer on the community, such as the development of internal navigation, facilities for soil conservation, afforestation, fish culture, provision of drinking water and development of recreation centres, besides as already mentioned, control of flood which causes enormous destruction to crops, landed property, cattle and human life, irrigation facilities for growing additional food and cash crops and production of hydro-electric power.

Let us cast a glance at the major projects.

The Bhakra-Nangal Project in the Punjab envisages the construction of a 680 ft. high dam across the Sutlej near Bhakra, about fifty miles above Rupar in Ambala District. About eight miles below this point the Nangal dam, ninety feet high, is nearing completion. There will be three power houses on the Nangal canal. The dams will irrigate an area of 3.6 million acres, which is expected to yield 130,000 tons of additional

foodgrains and 800,000 bales of cotton. The project provides for the generation of 400,000 K.W. of power which will serve the Punjab, PEPSU, Rajasthan, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. When the project is completed, the Punjab will again become the granary of India. The industrialisation of the State will also be facilitated.

The Hirakud Project in Orissa is the first of a chain of three dams planned for the harnessing of the Mahanadi. It provides for the irrigation of 1,100,000 acres, beginning in 1953-54. When fully developed the project will yield 340,000 tons of foodgrains and 34,000 tons of cash crops such as sugarcane and cotton, and supply 321,000 K.W. of power of which 24,000 K.W. will be available in 1952-53. This power will work the furnaces and rolling mills of Jamshedpur and also contribute to the systematic utilisation of the untapped forest and mineral resources of the State. The Hirakud dam will not only provide adequate flood protection to the delta area but also improve appreciably the navigability of the Mahanadi.

The Damodar Valley Project is modelled on the famous Tennessee Valley Authority in the USA and will greatly benefit the States of West Bengal and Bihar. The scheme comprises eight storage dams with hydro-electric stations, two auxiliary plants with an installed capacity of 240,000 K.W. and an additional thermal power station at Bokaro with an installed capacity of 200,000 K.W. The building of the Bokaro Thermal Power Station is nearing completion and it will start functioning towards the end of 1952. The Konar dam is expected to be ready by June, 1952, and the Tilay dam by the following December. The whole project has been planned in such a way that as each component part is completed benefits will accrue from it. The project will ultimately provide effective control on the flooding of the Damodar which is notorious for its frequency and destructiveness. Other important benefits will be the provision of facilities for 1,000,000 acres of land, ample electricity and cheap water transport.

The project will generate 155,000 K.W. of electricity and help in the additional production of 210,000 tons of foodgrains. It is likely to be completed in June, 1953.

The Machkund hydro-electric scheme will harness the waters of the Machkund which forms the boundary between Madras and Orissa, and will be administered jointly by the two States. The power site is at the Duduma Falls, about 125 miles from Vishakhapatnam by road. The power house will have three generating units to begin with, each capable of producing 17,350 K.W of electricity.

The Kakrapara Project in Bombay State consists of a dam across the Tapi at Kakrapara, fifty miles above Surat. It provides for a canal on either bank of the river. The irrigation of 562,520 acres and generation of 48,000 K.W. will be the chief benefits accruing from it. The additional food production resulting from the scheme will be 166,000 tons.

Other major schemes under execution are the Sarda power project in Uttar Pradesh, the Mayurakshi irrigation-cum-power project in Bengal and Bihar, the Lakkavali irrigation-cum-power project in Mysore, and the power projects in Madhya Pradesh.

In addition, 123 smaller power and irrigation projects, each costing anything between a few hundred thousand and one hundred million rupees, are under execution in nineteen states, including those already mentioned.

Between August 1947 and December 1951, India will have imported foodgrains worth Rs. 5,430 million. As against this huge expenditure, the 135 projects now under execution are expected to cost Rs. 5,900 million. While the money spent on the import of foodgrains represents so much loss of precious foreign exchange which could be used to finance national development projects, the amount being spent on these projects represents permanent investment. They will provide two vital requisites of progress, namely, enough food and plenty of electricity, to say nothing of the other important advantages such as flood control and inland navigation.

The rapid electrification of rural areas was one of the urgent tasks to which the Government addressed itself earnestly. In

1947, only 1,295 villages, with a population of less than 5,000 each, were electrified. This figure rose to 2,118 in 1949.

An important step was taken by the Government in 1948 when it enacted the Electricity(Supply) Act with the object of bringing about a rationalisation of the electricity industry and speedy electrification of the country. The Act provides for the formation of State electricity boards in the States and the establishment of an expert body called the Central Electricity Authority to supervise the work of the State electricity boards. The present installed capacity in the whole country is just over 2,000,000 K.W. According to expert estimate, by 1954 it will increase to 3,450,000 K.W.—an increase of over 72 per cent. By 1959 it is expected to rise to 4,850,000 K.W.

Our expenditure on irrigation and electricity projects compares favourably with what the USA spends, or proposes to spend, on her projects. In that country the works so far completed, those under construction and those planned to meet the needs of the immediate future, are together estimated to cost \$28,354 million which is about six times India's expenditure of Rs. 19,000 million on the projects under execution and to be taken in hand. In other words, for the benefit of a population which is about one-third of India's, the USA will have to spend six times as much as India.

One important thing however, has to be borne in mind as regards these projects. That is that they require time for completion. We cannot be too impatient about them. But the benefit that accrues is permanent and the recurring gains would belong to coming generations. If we of this generation have to wait and to sacrifice a little we ought to be willing to do so.

## INDUSTRIES, BIG AND SMALL

During the struggle for freedom the Congress concentrated on village industries. But after the responsibility of the whole state devolved on the Congress government in the Centre, it had a comprehensive view of the economic develop-

country. Defence industries and basic industries claimed special attention.

The basic document of the Government's industrial policy is the statement of April 8, 1948. It contemplates a mixed economy, consisting of a public and a private sector. While private enterprise is allowed, the Government undertakes responsibility for the development of those industries in which the stakes of the nation as a whole are too high to leave them in private hands. Even among them the existing undertakings have been left to private enterprise. In fact, the Government renders financial assistance to some of these undertakings, notably steel and shipbuilding. This policy has now been approved by the Planning Commission.

In accordance with this policy the manufacture of arms and ammunition, production and control of atomic energy, and the ownership and management of railway transport are the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government. Also, new enterprises in industries like coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, telephone, telegraphic and wireless apparatus (excluding radio receiving sets) and mineral oils can be undertaken by the State alone. The existing units will remain with the present owners for a period of ten years at the end of which the industrial policy will be reviewed. The rest of the industrial field will normally be occupied by private enterprise, individual as well as co-operative, but the State will progressively participate in it. The Government will not hesitate to intervene if the progress of an industry under private enterprise becomes unsatisfactory. The industrial policy also emphasizes the importance of cottage and small scale industries.

Here also, the main consideration is maximum production in order to avoid a financial crisis. The Government devised immediate plans for thirty-two industries, including steel, cotton, textile, cement, superphosphates, paper, drugs, machine tools, motor-car batteries, electric motor, etc. It was realized that in order to make a production drive effective, close and continuous co-operation of the industry, trade and public was necessary. Accordingly, a Central Advisory Council of Industries, composed of the representatives of important industries, state governments, organized labour and other industries, was set up. This Council advises the Director General of Supplies and Disposals on the special problems of the industries.

Following upon this co-ordination, production has increased considerably in many industries. For instance, the production of coal rose from 29.8 million tons in 1948 to 31.4 million tons in 1949 and 31.9 million tons in 1950. Its export level was not only maintained but even raised. Besides Hongkong, Singapore, Burma and Ceylon—all of them are regular markets for Indian coal,—Australia, Japan, Egypt and Aden began to import Indian coal.

Similarly, the production of finished steel, which was 354,000 tons in 1948, increased to 930,000 tons in 1949 and 923,000 tons in 1950—not far short of the target of one million tons. The various steel producing concerns were encouraged to develop their own schemes of expansion; in one case the Government granted a loan for this purpose.

In the case of cotton textiles, however, the picture is not so satisfactory. Improvement which the year 1948 showed could not be maintained in 1949 and production fell in 1950. Besides the general shortage of cotton, low production in 1950 can be attributed to the closure of certain mills which could not replace their old machinery, to the uneconomic working of mills, and labour trouble. The Bombay strike of August-October, 1950, resulted in a total loss of eight million lbs. of free yarn and 203 million yards of cloth.

On account of the fall in the production of cloth and in order to maintain internal supplies at a reasonable rate, the Government has fixed the export quota of coarse and medium cloth at 120 million yards for the current year, both for hard and soft currency area, while the export of fine and superfine cloth and yarn of all counts has been totally banned.

In the meantime, the cotton development plan evolved by the Development Committee appointed by the Government, which lays down norms of efficiency and targets for output, has made some progress. In accordance with this plan twenty mills, with a total spindlage of 254,456 have already gone into production, yielding about three million lbs. of yarn per month, while twenty-four other mills, with a spindlage of 230,000 are in course of construction. They are expected to start production shortly, and thereby increase the output by about 2.5 million lbs. of yarn per month.



Production has been steadily rising in a number of engineering and non-engineering industries like aluminium, antimony, bicycles, caustic soda, diesel engines, electric lamps, electrical fans, electric motors, glass sheet, paper board, plywood, power alcohol, sewing machines, sulphuric acid, soda ash, etc. Indeed, in spite of numerous difficulties, peak production has been achieved in no less than thirty industries, as a result of which the country has become self-sufficient in respect of several commodities which formerly used to be imported. Among them are dry batteries, bare copper conductors, refractories, hair and cotton belting, abrasives, motor-car batteries, white metal alloys, conduit pipes, hurricane lanterns, dynamo grade electrical steel sheets, brass and copper sheets for utensil purposes, twist drills and reamers. A number of commodities, particularly those of chemical and pharmaceutical industries, like glycerine, bichromates, magnesium chloride, potassium bromide, etc., are now exported. Indian manufactured drugs, medicines and rubber goods are also on the export list.

The fertilizer factory at Sindri is one of the greatest industrial undertakings of the Government. The end of the year 1950 saw the completion of heavy construction work and the installation of plant and machinery. It is expected that usable ammonium sulphate will be available before the end of 1951, while full production will be achieved about six months later. The power house of the factory, with an installed capacity of 80,000 K.W., will supply not only power and steam for the process work of the factory but also bulk power, to the extent of 20,000 K.W., to the Damodar Valley Corporation grid for distribution to industrial consumers in the neighbourhood.

The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., in which the Government has the major interest, made good progress in production and development. An entirely new type of work was the building of all-metal single and double-decker bus bodies for the State Transport authorities of West Bengal, Delhi and Bombay. The first few bodies were built mainly with imported material but arrangements are being made for the manufacture of kits of indigenous material. The first order for a hundred rail coaches for the Ministry of Railways was executed by July 1950 and the delivery of forty-four coaches of an improved type is expected shortly.

During 1949 the production of scientific instruments increased by 27 per cent and sales by 11.5 per cent. In the next year production showed a further increase of 2.3 per cent. The Mathematical Instruments Office was responsible for this achievement. It has developed and manufactured, among other important instruments, profile projectors glass absorption cells, special hydrometer sets, special mercury thermometers and stainless steel mirrors and slits.

The work of standardization undertaken by the Indian Standards Institution has also been progressing satisfactorily. In 1950, 800 subjects were accepted for standardization out of many more proposed. Of them, 123 standards were published and another 108 finalized.

The Cottage Industries Board was reconstituted in July 1950. The Central Cottage Industries Emporium, established in April 1949, procures cottage industry products from all parts of the country with the help of the state governments and private organisations. It serves both as a sales depot and a publicity centre for cottage industry products. Facilities for running cottage industries were given to a number of displaced persons who are now producing toys, soaps, hosiery, textiles, shoes, buttons, shoe laces, etc. During 1950-51 the activities of the Cottage Industries Board were concentrated on the stimulation of export of cottage industry products.

The Silk Board was constituted in May 1949. So far it has given Rs. 181,000 in grants to ten state governments for specific schemes to develop sericulture. An additional grant of Rs. 68,000 was given to the States of Madras, Mysore, West Bengal and Assam for the establishment and development of cocoon markets. It has been decided to send a batch of three ~~men~~ to Japan for training in sericulture and the raw silk industry. With a view to helping weavers, the Government imported 50,000 lbs. of raw silk from Japan and supplied ~~them~~ to various state governments for distribution among ~~weavers~~.

The post-war period in which not ideal for industrial advancement poverty of the country ~~cries~~ late the situation has been materials all over the world.

difficulties at home and abroad, the Government can say today that, as a result of its encouragement and support, a good many industries show steadily increasing production.

It is obvious that the policy of laissez-faire has once for all been abandoned. The needs of the community are supreme and vital. At the same time there must be perfect co-ordination between the industries run by the State or under State patronage and private industry. Under India's conditions where man power, especially in rural areas, is going to waste small scale and cottage industries have special significance.

### COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Congress advocates promotion of cottage and small-scale industries, chiefly as a major solution to the problem of unemployment which threatens to become more and more acute with rationalisation of agriculture and increasing population. But the technique of production in the case of many of our cottage and small-scale industries has to be improved. Congress has laid stress on the need to conduct research to evolve better technique and train artisans in improved methods of production. Wherever possible, artisans should be cooperatively organised for purposes of production, marketing and supply of raw materials.

Apart from the pioneering work of organisations like All-India Village Industries Association and All India Spinners' Association sponsored by Congress, Congress administrations in the States and at the Centre have been making increasing efforts to assist cottage industries in research, training and organisation and in other respects. Their development in Part 'A' States, generally speaking, is greater than in Part 'B' States, whereas in Part 'C' States the development is comparatively low. The Budget for 1950-51 for all the States of India provide Rs. 197 lakhs for cottage industries, including both ordinary and development expenditure—Rs. 164 lakhs in Part 'A' States, Rs. 1 lakhs in Part 'B' States and less than Rs. 1 lakh in Part 'C' States. In all the States, however, increasing attention is being paid to the development of cottage and small-scale industries.

In Uttar Pradesh the importance attached to the growth of cottage industries in the State may be seen from the fact

the former Director of Industries has been redesignated as the Director of Cottage Industries. The State has set about the work with clear pre-determined objectives, adequate funds, a satisfactory organisation and important schemes, bound to yield results of a far reaching value. Instructions in improved technique of production in the State is imparted through peripatetic tuitional classes on various subjects such as weaving, dyeing, printing, leather work, wooden and paper toy making, marble work, carpentry, blanket and carpet weaving, pottery etc. The training is followed up by the organisation of the trainees into cooperatives. There is an efficient marketing organisation headed by the U.P. Handicrafts and backed up by production centres. The Director of Cottage Industries being also the Store Purchase Officer of the Government is able to see that Government requirements are met as far as possible by cottage industries products.

The important characteristics to be noted in the State of Bombay are the centralisation of all direction relating to cottage industries in the Joint Registrar of Industrial Cooperatives and Village Industries, assisted by a body of technical whole-time experts in different subjects besides the usual administrative officers, a high power central non-official body called the Village Industries Committee with regional officers, staff and funds, which attends to the execution of certain approved schemes; a cooperative organisation with a provincial industrial cooperative association at the apex, working through District Industrial Associations and Primary Industrial Societies a chain of sales depots or emporia in important cities in the State, the Bombay depot acting as the coordinating authority, peripatetic training institutions on different industries; village industries production centres for the development of village industries such as agricultural and household implements, fibre industries, coir and sun-hemp industry and wool industry; the Village Industries Research Laboratory at Poona, and adequate financial assistance to cottage industries through the State Aid to Industries Act and regional Industrial Cooperatives.

Some of the important items of work in the State of Mysore are the implementation of the 'Three Year Plan' for establishment of training cum production centres in 16 cottage industries, the provision for financing cottage industries workers under different schemes such as 'Financial Aid

Scheme' and 'Financial Aid to Industry Scheme', strong departmental organisation with 9 functional experts and the beginning made towards the close of 1949 in the implementation of what is called the rural industrialisation scheme of Shri Visvesarayya, with the active help of the author himself.

Progress in different measures and in different directions is reported from the rest of the States also. In the First Five Year Plan prepared by Planning Commission the cost of development of cottage and small-scale industries by Central and State Governments is shown as below:

(Rs. in lakhs)

	Central Govt.	Part 'A' States	Part 'B' States	Part 'C' States	Total
2 years total (1951-53) ..	60.00	305.89	101.52	8.64	476.05
5 years total (1951-56) ..	500.00	763.33	291.96	22.31	1577.60

It may be noted that prior to Independence, Government of India did not take any direct part in the development of cottage industries in the various Provinces and States. In August 1948 it established the All-India Cottage Industries Board, with a Cottage Industries Directorate. The Board with the Directorate concentrate their attention on some of the important aspects of the Central Government's sphere of actively in the field of cottage industries. The Central Cottage Industries Emporium was started in New Delhi in April 1949. Show-cases exhibiting Indian cottage industries products have been put up in the Trans Atlantic Liner Queen Mary and the airports of Palam and Willington as also show-rooms in exhibitions at places like Ottawa, New York, Lisbon, Sweden, London, Djakarta, Alexandria and Bangkok.

Pending the finalisation of the proposal to set up a Central Training and Research Institute, arrangements were made to make an immediate beginning in the field of research with the machinery imported from Japan by the Government of India.

Two large shadow factories have been already established in Hardnaganj near Aligarh, staff appointed and the machinery installed and worked experimentally. A pilot survey of cottage industries was also conducted in the Aligarh-Harnaganj area, covering over 2000 units in about 200 sq. miles.

Other activities of the Central Government include efforts to purchase part of their stores requirements from cottage industries, assistance in the supply of raw materials such as iron and steel, nonferrous metal and silk. In the case of hand-loom industry, particularly referred to in the Election Manifesto, Government have reserved certain fields of production such as dhoties and sarees with wide borders, bed sheets, honey-comb towels, dusters etc. exclusively to handloom production. To help the industry in its greatest need of the hour *viz.*, supply of yarn, it has also been decided to ban the export of yarn, control installation of power looms using cotton yarn, reserve a certain percentage of yarn production of certain mills for the hand-loom industry and import and distribute American cotton to mills on subsidised rates for production of yarn for the handloom industry.

The budget provision made each year from the inception of the All-India Cottage Industries Board under the Heading "43-A-Grants to the Cottage Industries Board" is as shown below :

1948-49	Rs. 2,00,000
1949-50	Rs. 8,00,000
1950-51	Rs. 14,50,000 plus Rs. 1,50,000 as loans to Part 'C' States.
1951-52	Rs. 14,50,000 plus 1,50,000 as loan to Part 'C' States. 2,50,000 for Khadi.

Reference has already been made to cottage industries in the Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission expects to make shortly detailed proposals in respect of the following cottage industries : Khadi, manufacture of palm gur and gur, the village oil industry, production of neem oil, utilisation of dead cattle, manufacture of hand-made paper, manufacture of woollen blankets, and in certain cases, hand-pounding of rice and manufacture of matches.

It is important to note that while the Commission suggests adoption of positive measures, it also recommends that for development of a cottage industry a cess may be levied on corresponding large-scale industry if necessary. Other recommendations include reservation of spheres of production for cottage industries, licensing of industrial units, and in certain cases, adoption of a policy of non-expansion of existing capacity of large-scale industries. In respect of small-scale industries, it recommends in addition to other measures, fixation of quotas and reservation of spheres of production for small-scale industries and prohibition of new large-scale units in particular lines of production. The production plan for large and small-scale industries should be conceived and worked out, adds the Commission as an integral one of which cottage industries, small-scale industry and large-scale industry would all contribute to augment production and diversify the economy of the country. The Commission is of the view that it has become necessary for Govt. to assume in relation to cottage and small-scale industries obligation somewhat similar to those it has already assumed in relation to the development of agriculture. Cottage industries are a responsibility in the first instance of State Governments. They become a responsibility of the Central Government in virtue of action needed in the field of policy and, in particular, in framing common production programmes. In the field of research the Central Govt. should assume an overall responsibility. For implementing the various programmes it will be necessary for the Central Govt. to equip itself with an organisation capable of handling various questions of policy, assisting in drawing up production programmes with sufficient knowledge of the economic conditions and problems of cottage industries and of assisting the coordinated development of research throughout the country.

## RESEARCH LABORATORIES

IN this age of science India cannot afford to lag behind. It has suffered enough in the past for having neglected modern advances in science. In fact, one of the main reasons why she could be conquered by smaller western powers was because she was far behind them in science. The Congress has a full realisation of this fact and even before Congress assumed power

in the Centre it declared in its Election Manifesto of 1945 as follows:—

“Science in its innumerable fields of activity has played an ever-increasing part in influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defence, depend upon it. Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State and should be organised and encouraged on the widest scale.”

Apart from the importance of science for the purposes of health and human life, agriculture, industry and commerce are all in extreme need of it. Continuous research on the problems presented by them is absolutely necessary if we are to solve them in a systematic manner and with full satisfaction.

It is from this point of view that a chain of National Laboratories has been started and seven of them are working today. They are the following:

1. The National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; 2. The National Physical Laboratory, Delhi; 3. The Fuel Research Institute, Digwadi; 4. The Central Glass and Ceramics Research Institute, Calcutta; 5. The National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; 6. The Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore; 7. The Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow.

The nuclei units of four others, namely, 1. The Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; 2. The Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee; 3. The Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; 4. The Electro Chemical Research Institute, Karai-kudi, already exist but they are yet to develop into full-fledged research stations.

Each one of these laboratories deals with special problems pertaining to that particular branch of science. Apart from work in abstract science, their main function is to be helpful to industries by dealing with questions that come up during the course of the development of the respective in



We want today more production, better production, standard production and production that can compare well with that of advanced countries. The question of dealing with varieties of raw material, cutting down costs of production, manufacture of synthetic products and a number of other questions are dealt with by these laboratories and their results are available to industry. It may be said that this is an activity which is basic and which enriches the whole country by addition of new knowledge on a variety of subjects. Often enough the importance of this kind of work is underestimated but if one thinks with a bit of foresight one can immediately realise how these institutions are the source of all our practical scientific knowledge.

### FAIR DEAL TO LABOUR

The Congress has always thought and worked in terms of the masses of India. And who else but the peasants and the labourers are the masses in India? In its Election Manifesto of 1945 the Congress declared as follows:—

“In regard to labour, the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form Unions to protect their interests.”

The Government of India in its statement on industrial policy (8.4.48) has recognised ‘the proper role of labour in industry and the need to secure for labour fair wages and working conditions’. It has at the same time pointed out that ‘labour for its part must give equal recognition to its duty in contributing to the increase in the national income’ without which living standards cannot rise.

The Government set up a Central Advisory Council for Labour, comprising representatives of the Government, employers and workers. This Council framed agreed proposals to ensure fair wages to workers. A Fair Wages Bill based on these proposals

## CONGRESS IN HARNESS

is now under consideration by Parliament. It lays down a minimum limit to wages while the maximum wages can be as high as the industry can afford, partly subject to the productive capacity of labour.

An important legislative measure taken by the Government for the benefit of labour was the Minimum Wages Act which received the assent of the Governor-General in March 1948. It provides for the fixation of a minimum time rate and a minimum piece rate. The deadline for fixing minimum rates for agricultural labour is December 31, 1953, and for labour in other employment March 31, 1952.

The Government was responsible for three other important laws enacted in 1948. They are the Employees' State Insurance Act, the Factories Act and the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes Act. In the same year the problems of forced labour and dock-workers were also tackled.

The Factories Act of 1948 came into effect in April 1949. It contains detailed directions regarding the health, safety and welfare of workers in factories, the employment of young persons, hours of work, leave with wages and occupational diseases. The number of workers who benefit from it is 3,000,000

The Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes Act empowers the Central Government to frame provident fund and bonus schemes for employees in coal mines. According to this Act, every miner whose wages does not exceed Rs. 300 a month has to subscribe to the fund. Both employer and employee contribute equally to the fund. The bonus scheme makes every coal miner eligible for a bonus, fixed at present at one-third of his basic earnings, provided he fulfils the prescribed attendance qualification. These two schemes have changed the status of the miner from a helpless pauper in old age to an independent man of some means.

The Dock-workers-Act of 1949 is another important measure which entitles the Central Government to frame schemes or the registration of dock-workers in order to secure greater regularity of employment and better conditions of work for them. A scheme has already been introduced in Bombay providing

for the registration of workers, their classification and training, the payment of guaranteed minimum wages, attendance wages and appeals to an Appeal Tribunal by aggrieved parties.

For the benefit of labour in general, and of coal-miners in particular, the Coal-mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947, provides for a housing and a general welfare fund. Pithead baths have been made compulsory and subsidies have been granted to owners for that purpose. For women, twenty-two welfare centres have been opened. At these centres lessons are given in knitting, sewing, spinning, domestic economy, cooking and nutrition. Rules regarding the provision of creches in mines are being enforced.

Medical facilities for miners include four regional hospitals in the Jharia and Raniganj areas and a central hospital at Dhanbad. About 60,000 workers were treated annually in these hospitals and the facilities offered include anti-T.B., anti-venereal and anti-malaria treatment. Maternity benefits amounting to about Rs. 100,000 are paid annually.

A scheme for industrial housing was formulated and communicated to state governments for their consideration in April, 1949. In Bombay, 1,712 houses have already been built. In Orissa, 169 houses are likely to be constructed before the end of the current year. It is hoped that Madhya Pradesh will have completed 400 houses and Bihar eighty-five in the same period. The scheme has now been extended to all the States.

In addition, 50,000 houses were to be built for colliery workers out of the Coal-mines Labour Welfare Fund. Of these more than 1,600 houses have been constructed, but owing to the inadequacy of funds and increase in the cost of building material, the scheme had to be given up in favour of a new plan envisaging subsidies to colliery owners up to 20 percent of the cost of construction, subject to the maximum of Rs. 600 per house. This scheme, it is hoped, will encourage the construction of a large number of houses.

As no reliable data about agricultural labour were available, the Government instituted an enquiry into their working conditions. In 1949 a preliminary enquiry was carried out in twenty-seven villages in various States and it is being followed up by a

comparatively thorough investigation conducted in 812 villages all over India. It is divided into three distinct stages: general village survey, general family survey, and intensive family survey.

The first two stages have already been gone through in all the States and the third in most of them. The rest will have completed it by the end of August.

Statistics collected from the general village survey have been processed and made available to the state governments. On the basis of these data the Governments of the Punjab and Kutch have already fixed the minimum wages for agricultural workers.

The whole enquiry is expected to be complete by February 1952. It is the intention of the Government to utilize the results not only for fixing minimum wages but also regulating the hours of work, planning rural housing and agricultural development. Plantation workers, numbering as many as 1,150,000, received increased interim dearness allowances and other benefits as a result of tripartite conferences called by the Government from time to time. It is now agreed that every year employers should construct houses for at least 8 per cent of the plantation labour population. It appears that more than 349,000 houses are already in existence. Members of the Indian Tea Association propose to build another 8,800 houses. The Ministry of Labour has secured a sum of Rs. 400,000 from the Central Tea Board for the welfare of labour employed by the tea industry. The Plantation Labour Bill introduced in Parliament in June 1951 makes it obligatory for the employer to provide and maintain the housing necessary for every worker and his family residing on plantations.

The Government has tried to strengthen the trade union movement and regulate it along healthy lines. Under the old Act, there was no provision for compulsory recognition of trade unions by employers. There was no obligation on the part of the latter even to negotiate with trade unions. This kept employers and employees apart, and strikes were all too common. Besides, workers were exploited by outsiders who were actuated by political motives.

The New Trade Union Bill, introduced in Parliament in 1946, is calculated to remedy these defects. The main provisions of the Bill relate to the recognition of trade unions, compulsion of recognition of them on the fulfilment of certain conditions, establishment of labour courts, right of trade unions to negotiate with employers and penalty for unfair practices on the part of either employers or trade unions.

In an industrial dispute the Government seeks to conciliate instead of letting the two arms of production fight it out, it provides suitable machinery for arbitration. The Government has assumed this role as a result of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, which replaced an earlier one. It provides a prompt and more effective method of resolving industrial disputes. A number of whole-time conciliation officers have been appointed in different parts of the country. They keep in touch with employers and workers and assist them in the settlement of disputes by negotiation. When negotiations and conciliation fail, the dispute is referred to one of the standing industrial tribunals which have been established under the Act.

The new Labour Relations Bill strikes a new note in labour management relations and provides for the prevention, investigation and settlement of disputes. It insists on negotiations at an early stage and simplifies the procedure for negotiations and collective bargaining. It envisages three new authorities, namely, the Standing Conciliation Board, the Labour Court and the Appellate Tribunal and prohibits lightning strikes while ensuring effective implementation of the awards of the tribunals. Regarding resettlement and employment in 1948, the Government threw open the doors of the Employment Exchanges to unemployed civilians as well as ex-military personnel. Quite a large number of people have found employment through the assistance of these exchanges. In the three years preceding December 1950, as many as 3,147,640 people applied to the exchanges for assistance and 848,095 people were found jobs.

So far the industrial truce has worked satisfactorily. Both workers and employers have responded to the Government call for industrial peace and greater production. This is borne out by the figures for the number of labour disputes and loss of man-days during the past four years. Except for the gener-

strike in the Bombay textile industry last year, the progress has been uniformly satisfactory. India's record in this respect compares favourably with those of the U.K. and the U.S.A. While in India the number of man-days lost has decreased by about 52 per cent since 1947, there has been a decrease of only 13 per cent in the U.K. and an increase of 3 per cent in the U.S.A. during the same period. Again, while the average duration of a strike was six days in India, the figures for those two countries were 34.5 and 16.8 respectively.

One reason for this comparatively bright picture in India is that the worker has been encouraged to feel that his status is that of a partner in the industry and that he is no longer left to the mercy of his employer. The machinery created for conciliation and adjudication of disputes has secured to the worker higher emoluments and increased privileges. Moreover, cases of non-fulfilment of awards have been few. During 1948-49 out of the 1,250 industrial disputes referred to adjudication in the various States, only fourteen instances of non-fulfilment of the award were reported. Nor did the Government spare the offenders. Thus it can be claimed that since 1948, labour had actively co-operated in the great national endeavour to produce more. Even in that year there was an all-round improvement in production. This progress has been maintained and accelerated in subsequent years, except, as already mentioned, in the textile industry.

It can be easily seen that what the Government has been doing is in consonance with the policies enunciated by the Congress. It is significant that the INTUC, the biggest trade union in the country has fullest confidence in the Congress and feels that the future of labour is secure in its hands. If labour in India believes in orderly and peaceful progress and is not led away by disruptive forces and chaotic elements, the Congress government is confident of carrying out its policy with the fullest cooperation of labour and its leaders.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE

If special attention to industry had to be paid by the Government in order to promote economic development, it was as necessary to see that commerce was controlled in order that the country had imports and exports which

were conducive to the promotion of local industry and to the economy of the country. The interests of the people at large have always been the most predominant consideration so far as the Congress was concerned.

The chief features of the commercial policy of the Government are the promotion of foreign trade, operation of trade controls, application of fiscal policy as an instrument of economic development, maintenance of trade services and functions abroad and the development of Indian shipping.

The Government has kept up the drive to develop foreign trade by a variety of methods such as the conclusion of bilateral agreements with a number of countries, liberalisation of import control, participation in international fairs and exhibitions, strengthening of Indian commercial representations abroad, etc.

The bilateral trade agreements are intended to establish direct contacts, secure essential and scarce goods not otherwise obtainable and promote export of Indian goods. Of course, India trades with many other countries also with whom she has no trade agreement, for instance the UK and the USA.

One of the most effective instruments for the promotion of foreign trade is the commercial service abroad which has been expanded lately. This service pushes Indian goods and keeps in close touch with foreign markets. For the same purpose India participated in a number of international fairs and exhibitions, including the British Industries Fair, the Brussels International Trade Fair, the Women's International Exposition in New York, the Stockport Exhibition, the Paris National Fair, the Canadian National Exhibition, the Chicago Fair, the International Tobacco Fair and the International Trade and Cultural Fair at Djakarta.

Exhibitions of Indian goods were also organised by the Government through their trade representatives in London, Singapore, New Orleans, Stockholm and Gothenburg.

In order to expand trade without detriment to internal requirements export controls were liberalised in 1949. They had been in force since the war because of the internal shortage

of goods. Subsequently, they were found useful in developing exports and earning foreign exchange. As a result of the policy of liberalisation the export trade in most commodities became either completely free or very nearly so by the end of 1949.

In the beginning of 1950, owing to an excessive overseas demand for a number of commodities, certain restrictions had to be imposed on them. It is important to understand the necessity for export control which guards against excessive export of essential commodities, particularly raw materials of which Indian industries were short, and ensures discretionary canalising of exports in order to earn foreign exchange. However, following the heavy adverse balance of India's trade in 1949, the emphasis was shifted from export control to export promotion. Import control has often been criticised. Admittedly, open general licences and consequent liberalisation of imports tend to check inflation in the country. That is why open general licences were introduced in July 1948 when deep anxiety was felt over the rising price level and cost of living index in the principal industrial centres. This policy can be justified on another ground. In June 1948 it was found that a restrictive import policy had resulted in an unspent balance of £80 million which was wholly unjustifiable in view of the acute inflationary conditions prevailing in the country.

The immediate effect of this liberal import policy was that further rise in the price index was arrested. Indeed, after July 1948 it began to decline. The cost of living index showed the same downward trend.

But it was soon noticed that the effective demand for imports in the country was very much greater than could be financed out of our exchange resources. The foreign exchange position soon became disquieting and the Government was compelled to cancel Open General Licence No. XI on May 5, 1949, and issued a revised OGL No. XV on May 19 permitting the import of only a limited range of commodities without licence from soft currency areas. With the cancellation of the open general licences, restriction on imports in the latter half of 1949, and larger export earnings, the balance of payments improved in 1950. This relatively easy position was reflected in the slightly more liberal programmes for the year.



Jute and cotton manufactures are among the important items of export from India. Until recently India had to be dependent on the imports of raw jute and raw cotton from Pakistan. In view of Pakistan's intransigence, India decided to be self-sufficient in respect of these raw materials. In the meantime, devaluation and Korean War stimulated demands for many commodities, particularly jute manufactures. Throughout 1950 the demand for jute manufactures in overseas markets remained steady. Prices soared so high that the Government had to enhance the export duty on hessian and sackings. Of other Indian commodities textiles are competing successfully in foreign markets.

The policy of granting protection or assistance to industries in order to encourage and promote the industrialisation of the country has been vigorously pursued by the Government. Not only the period of protection has been extended in the case of those commodities which were already enjoying it, but a number of new industries have been given protection. In these matters the Government is guided by the recommendations of the Tariff Board. In some cases protection has been allowed to lapse. Before decisions are taken, however, investigations are made into the claims of industries for protection. The continuance of protection in order to establish new industries is also examined.

Regarding trade relations with Pakistan, the Government continued its efforts to reach long-term agreements beneficial to the economy of both countries. As the Pakistan Government was not agreeable to this, a short-term agreement for the year 1948-49 was concluded. However, informal discussions between the Commerce Minister of India and the Finance Minister of Pakistan, in May 1949, led to the breaking down of some of the barriers. Negotiations were again started in June 1949 for a fresh agreement for the supply of commodities during the period 1949-50, and an agreement was signed on July 24, 1949, under which, among other things, India promised to export to Pakistan a number of goods including cotton textiles. But India had an adverse balance of trade with Pakistan in 1948-49, because of the unwillingness of that country to import cotton textiles and other goods from India under the earlier agreement. The agreement of May 1949 also was not honoured by Pakistan. On November 12, 1949, violating

the agreement of July 24, 1949, Pakistan placed India on the list of countries from which no import of cotton textiles was to be licensed. Gradually a stage was reached towards the end of 1949 when there was a virtual cessation of trade between India and Pakistan.

In April 1950 the question reviving trade was discussed when the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Delhi. As a result, an agreement was concluded on April 21, 1950. Originally intended to remain in force only up to the end of July 1950, it was subsequently extended. The agreement provided for the supply of 4,000,000 maunds of raw jute to India in exchange for which India agreed to supply Pakistan with 20,000 tons of jute manufactures and appreciable quantities of cotton textiles and some other commodities. In addition to the mutual supply of commodities there was also a provision in the agreement for the free movement of certain commodities from one country to the other, without import and export restrictions on either side, so that no release of foreign exchange by either Government would be required. This agreement was terminated on September 30, 1950. Another agreement was concluded in February last. On the whole, it has to be admitted that the attempts of the Government to establish satisfactory trade relations with Pakistan have not met with any great success.

The commercial policies followed so far by the Government have been in consonance with the principles enunciated by the Congress from time to time. The results are not always adequate, as a number of factors over which we have no control come into play. But it can be said with every emphasis that the highest effort is made.

## RAILWAYS

Nationalisation of public utility services has been one of the general policies of Congress Governments in States and in the Centre, though it could not always be pursued vigorously for various reasons. But the Indian Railways are the biggest industrial and commercial concern run by the Government employing as it does about a million operatives and involves more than 800 crores of investment.

As in other matters, partition here too brought in new problems and a severe strain was thrown upon the railways during

evacuation and later. The railways stood the test and achieved almost the impossible with record speed. Departure of trained men added to the difficulties.

The vital link of 142 miles of railway with Assam, the doubling of Delhi-Mathura line during the peak period of evacuation, can go down as marvels of speed and efficiency. The new workshops at Chittaranjan which are designed to manufacture locomotives in India are the first of their kind. Production has already begun there.

One of the most significant reforms in recent railway finance was the revision of the Railway Separation Convention adopted by Parliament in December 1949. It provides for a development fund which will be used to finance (a) increased passenger amenities, (b) labour welfare, (c) projects which are necessary but unremunerative at the time of construction. The existing Betterment Fund is to be merged with the new fund. The Convention further stipulates that in the course of the next five years, Rs. 30 million of this fund should be spent annually on passenger amenities.

Following the integration of the former princely states with the Indian Union, their railway systems were also taken over. With a view to economy, simplification and uniformity, the entire railway administration was constituted into six zonal divisions. The SIR, MSM and Mysore railway systems were all amalgamated into the Southern Railway.

The relations between the railway administration and the staff have on the whole remained cordial and co-operative throughout. Representatives of labour were associated with the formulation of proposals for welfare work including hospitals, canteens, staff quarters, etc.

Following the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission and the Adjudicator's Award, the status of railway labour of all categories was improved. They were allowed several additional facilities, such as higher scales of pay, shorter hours of work, liberalized leave rules and holiday concessions. Besides these, the railway employees enjoy grainshop and medical relief concessions, assistance for the education of their

children, etc. During the current year a sum of about Rs. 80 million is proposed be spent on labour welfare.

Last year a Joint Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of the Railway Board and of railway labour with an independent chairman, was set up to deal with the anomalies arising out of the Central Pay Commission's recommendations about railway staff. The Committee has made a number of recommendations most of which have been accepted and will cost the Government another Rs. 20 million.

The following remark of the Prime Minister sums up the work of the Indian railways adequately : " Whatever achievements or lack of achievements our Government may have to its credit or discredit, I think I can say with full assurance that the improvement in the railway system in India is one of the outstanding achievements of the Government."

Water transport in India was neglected in the past because it was a provincial subject. Lack of unified policy and control and restrictions on inter-state movements have impeded its growth. The treatment of the river as a unit, irrespective of political boundaries, will help its rational development. In the Republican Constitution, inter-state rivers and waterways have become a Central subject. The planning and development of water transport has been entrusted to CWINC (the Central Water Power Irrigation and Navigation Commission). The several multipurpose projects that are now in progress will help to develop navigation in India. It is now difficult in several places because the dry weather discharges of the rivers are too little for use even by small country boats. River conservancy measures under the multi-purpose schemes will make it possible for navigation to become an important transport facility in India.

Recognising the importance of tourist traffic as a source of foreign exchange and also as a medium of international understanding, the Government of India has given it more attention of late. The Tourist Traffic Branch of the Ministry of Transport has been considerably expanded. A number of regional tourist offices have been established at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras and liaison arrangements made with the Governments of Kashmir, Orissa, Hyderabad and Mysore. The

regional tourist officers, besides assisting tourists and tourist agencies, are also entrusted with the task of providing tourist amenities. Special care is being taken about accommodation for tourists. Complete information about hotels and hotel guides has been collected and released for distribution.

Since Railways are the biggest utility service in the whole land and since almost every individual has to take advantage of them, the government tries its best to improve them and make travel and transport as cheap and as comfortable as possible under the circumstances.

## POSTS, TELEGRAPHS AND AIRWAYS

Another equally important utility service with which almost every citizen comes in contact is the Posts and Telegraphs Department. This department has been extending its services and will not rest till all big villages have the benefit of the postal system.

The number of post offices on March 31, 1950, was 27 per cent more than in 1948 on the same date, and the number of telephones increased by 22 per cent during the same period. More post offices were opened in the rural areas, and the aim of the Government is that, to begin with, every village with a population of 2,000 and over should have a post office. After partition, there were 4,837 such villages and by November 1950, 2791 of them had been provided with a post office each.

Partition caused a great dislocation in the country's telecommunication system. The construction of a communication line between Assam and the rest of India extending over 472 miles of exceedingly difficult terrain was completed within five months at a cost of over Rs. 3.5 million.

The most outstanding achievement of the postal department is, however, the introduction of the "all up" scheme from April 1, 1949. Under this scheme all letters, post cards and money orders are forwarded by air without extra charge. This scheme has been made possible by the night air mail service. The service operates on two routes across the length and breadth of the country from Bombay to Calcutta and Delhi to Madras with a central junction point at Nagpur. The radio and

navigational facilities on these routes have recently been developed up to the requisite safety level and, the night service can now be operated even during the monsoon.

As a meeting point of the air routes between the East and the West, India occupies a strategic position in international aviation. With its vast distances and good climatic conditions all the year round, India provides an ideal field for air transport. International air services to and across India are operated, among others, by the Trans-World Airways, Pan-American Airways, the B.O.A.C., the K.L.M., the Air France, and the Air India International.

In recent years, both passenger and freight traffic by air have increased phenomenally. During 1947, the Indian airlines carried 254,960 passengers and transported 5,647,562 lbs. of freight. The corresponding figures for 1950 were 452,869 passengers and 80,006,755 lbs. The night air mail service, which has entailed the installation of additional radio and navigational facilities, has become very popular. During 1950-51, an average of 2,699 lbs. of freight, 6,771 lbs. of mail and ninety-one passengers were thus carried every night.

The Government is encouraging Indian air lines and flying clubs by giving them financial assistance in the form of loans and grants. For instance, the Air India International Ltd. was loaned a sum of Rs. 1.9 million to cover its losses in 1948 and the Company was able to repay the loan in part in the following year. The Bharat Airways has been granted a similar subsidy on account of its newly commenced Calcutta-Bangkok Service. The number of aerodromes in the country increased from forty-eight in 1949-50 to seventy-two in 1950-51. As in the case of the railways, the advent of East Pakistan necessitated fresh arrangements to connect Assam with the rest of India. A number of air strips were constructed at Tripura and several others are being built in Assam. The Government is also fostering research in the science of aviation. A training school for flying and an aerodrome school have been opened at Allahabad. Also, the Civil Aviation Training Centre in that city will soon start training ground engineers.

A good meteorological service is indispensable for travel. The Indian Meteorological De

a country-wide network of observation centres for recording weather data, a system of tele-communication channels for publicizing weather information and a number of forecasting centres. The Department also serves the railways, shipping and agriculture.

Air travel is too recent in India. But a vast and comparatively plane country and a normally clear sky invites the development of this kind of transport on a big scale. It is hoped that there would be rapid expansion in this activity.

## EDUCATION AND HEALTH

These two concern most the formative and constructive part of our lives. The latter deals with the body while the former has to do with the entire personality including the body. It was the Congress that first supported the move for national education in 1906. It was convinced that the education then obtaining was denationalising and was restricted only to the theoretical and the intellectual field. It had no vision and no definite objective to aim at.

The function of education is to find out and give the fullest scope for the development of the abilities in man and to encourage the best social and other traits. Moreover, it must fit the individual to the environment and see that he is made capable of facing successfully all the problems that life presents at a certain time and place.

Gandhiji with his innate capacity to place his finger on the right thing, started experiments in what he called 'basic education'. Learning through activity and correlation, may be said to be another name for it.

Even though different states have advanced to some extent along this line, a whole coordinated plan of education has yet to be put into operation, beginning from prenatal to post-graduate. The Congress stands for the principles of basic education, for education through the medium of Indian languages and for the promotion of Hindi as the lingua franca of India.

Recently great need has been felt for technical education as the use of the machine is becoming increasingly necessary both in

agriculture and industry. It is according to needs of the situation that education must train the sons of the soil so that while the roots remain the same the branching and developing will be varied and vast. It is along these lines that education will find new ways and means for perfecting man under all circumstances.

Both these subjects fall mainly within the jurisdiction of the States.

## MASS COMMUNICATION

THE Congress has faith in democracy and in democratic institutions. Congress knows that freedom of expression is one of the corner stones of democracy as it is based on free and undeterred exchange of thought and unfettered discussion. The fundamental rights in the Constitution guarantee freedom of expression subject to the authority of the Parliament to put reasonable restrictions only in the case of security of the state, incitement to violence, and obscenity or indelicacy.

The press, the radio and the film are the most important media of mass communication in modern times. The recent Press Act by the Parliament, by one stroke has repealed all State and Central legislation which laid undue restrictions such as censorship etc. No action can any longer be taken by the executive. It is only after a trial by a judge that any action can be taken. And above all trial by jury is provided. Even this Act has but a life of two years when the whole situation may be reviewed.

Broadcasting has continued to be a government monopoly. Comparatively it is yet to develop before it can serve vaster numbers. During the last four years, however, in spite of financial difficulties, the progress has not been inconsiderable. On the day of independence there were only six All India Radio stations. The AIR network now consists of twenty-one broadcasting stations including the four which were taken over from the States. The popularity of AIR is borne out by the growing listening habit. The number of licensed radio sets increased from 256,161 in 1947 to 603,710 in April 1951. Apart from the increase in the number of domestic receivers, the number of community sets in rural and industrial areas and in



schools has also gone up. The total number of community receivers at the end of 1950 was 4,988. On an average each community set serves a hundred listeners. AIR has for a long time now been broadcasting special programmes for rural and industrial workers. In the past, the emphasis in the programmes was on education and news. In view of the scarcity of food, the emphasis is now laid on the food production drive and a special programme called "farm forum" has been started.

Besides being a source of entertainment, AIR programmes are also educative and cultural. Through news bulletins, discussions and talks the listeners are given a critical appraisal of current world events, opinions on books and modern social trends. The music programmes aim at developing a taste for classical music among its listeners. The stations in the South broadcast north Indian classical music and those in the North broadcast Carnatic music. This helps to make Indians aware of their various musical traditions. The Delhi station's programme, "The Music of India" which presents outstanding artistes from all parts of the country, is now a regular feature and is relayed by other AIR stations.

Radio reporting has now become a regular feature of AIR programmes. Important events such as convocations, mushairas, kavi sammelans, openings of exhibitions, Independence Day celebrations, etc., are now covered by the radio. Sport also occupies an important place.

The two-way radio discussion between Delhi and London was first tried out in the winter of 1949-50. The experiment was taken a step further in December 1950 when a four-way discussion on the international situation, between speakers in London, Delhi, Sydney and Montreal, was recorded—a feat unique in the history of broadcasting.

AIR broadcasts sixty-nine news bulletins in twenty-three languages, fifteen Indian and eight foreign, for about fourteen hours a day. Broadcasts to listeners overseas are radiated in twelve languages, including Burmese, Indonesian, Pushtu, Cantonese and Persian for about twenty-one hours every day. Besides providing a popular platform to artistes and writers of diverse talents throughout India and in all languages, the AIR

has been able to pay as honorarium about a crore and half rupees to them during the last four years. It may be said that now, more than ever, the AIR has been instrumental in bringing the artistes and the appreciative audience together on a scale which could not have been thought of otherwise.

The film industry in India is second only to USA and its growth during the war years was phenomenal. The mass appeal of the film as an audio-visual medium is admitted by all. But it cannot be said that, as things stand today, it is used to the best advantage of the people. The box office return is yet the most dominating motive today. It has to be increasingly used for social ends if it is to justify its higher purpose.

Recently the Film Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India has come out with a comprehensive report on all the various aspects of this industry. It may be possible now to consider improvement in standards and other things as suggested by the report.

Since 1946 the Government is running a Films Division for the purpose of producing suitable documentaries and informative news reels. It has so far produced over eighty-nine documentaries and 156 newsreels in five language versions, English, Hindi, Tamil and Telugu. They have been distributed through 136 circuits to cover, 3,000 cinemas in the country. The documentaries cover a wide range of subjects as is evident from the following titles: "Made from Mica", "Private Life of the Silk Worm", "Basic Education", "Rajasthan Series I", "Your Baby", "Cave Temples of India", "Subsidiary Food", "Santiniketan", "Story of Sindri", "Vale of Kashmir". Three documentaries "Private Life of the Silk Worm", "Rajasthan Series I" and "Indian Minorities" received awards at the International Film Festival at Yorkton, Canada.

There is an arrangement for exchange of newsreel items with foreign newsreel companies. In this way important events in India are publicized in foreign countries and the Indian newsreel covers news from other countries.

While the Congress appreciates the importance to democracy of the above-mentioned media of mass communication, it would try to see that they are increasingly used for the dissemination

of factual and other information, useful instruction, and general education which would go to make each citizen richer in knowledge and more capable of discharging his responsibilities as a citizen of this great republic.

## OUR BACKWARD BRETHREN

For various historical reasons large numbers of our brethren have remained backward for centuries. A long line of social and religious reformers have drawn the attention of the country to this fact and devised various methods so far for their amelioration. Mahatma Gandhi's intensely human approach and his sincere attempts to root out the main cause, untouchability, gave this matter national importance. The Congress whose main inspiration in such matters came from Gandhiji, took up the question and the removal of untouchability became a part and parcel of the Congress programme. Service of the Adivasis or tribal people was soon added on. Today, while the Constitution has declared that the observance of untouchability in any shape or form is an offence, it has laid a special obligation on the Government to devote particular attention to all backward classes in India. Accordingly an officer has been appointed to study the whole problem and see that they receive all possible State help. In fact, articles 330-342 of the Constitution deal with special provisions regarding this matter.

Politically speaking, the Scheduled Castes and Adivasis will have proportionate reserved seats in all the legislatures during the next ten years. Subject to the availability of properly qualified persons, the Central Government has reserved twelve and a half per cent of posts for them. A number of special scholarships are awarded annually for education both in India and abroad.

In addition to what the Central and State Governments are doing, there is the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh with branches all over the country which conducts hostels, gives scholarships and extends help in various other ways.

The Congress has fully realised that if democracy is to succeed, there should not be any pockets left which are extremely backward economically, socially or culturally. A considerable

disparity in these matters is sure to weaken the body politic. This is a matter where the people also can do much and possibly more than the Government itself. It is primarily a question of rehabilitating socially and politically some millions by making them feel that they have equal rights of citizenship with us. Their economic and cultural advance is no less important. Special attention ought to be paid to it. Every educated and responsible citizen should see that there are no social or other artificial barriers as between these backward classes and other citizens. It is necessary to accelerate this process so that through social consolidation, national solidarity may be achieved at the earliest.

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*It is the sacred duty of every man, woman and child to conserve every grain of food and every drop of oil and ghee in this crisis.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

*One should eat no more than necessary to keep the body in health and fitness when millions are faced with the prospect of death through starvation.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PARTIES IN THE FIELD

**T**HE Congress fought for freedom for years and won it for the country. After freedom, it was natural that the Congress was voted into power. There was no other nation-wide organisation so influential, with such a halo of success and with such a substantial record of service and sacrifice. No other body in the country had the privilege of being led by the great Mahatma and none could count among its ranks preeminent leaders of the stature of Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel.

Congress has been in harness for the last four years and more. As in the field of battle for Swaraj, so in the matter of administration after Swaraj, Congress has stood the test of sincerity, statesmanship, strenuous work, resourcefulness, power of organisation and constructive effort for the masses of India. It is true that it cannot be said that the Congress has succeeded in everything nor can it be claimed that it has fulfilled all its promises or satisfied all the expectations of the people. The period of only four years of Swaraj after two centuries of foreign misrule in the midst of shocks like partition and convulsions like the Punjab massacres, and the evil legacies of war, is but too short a period to achieve everything that was contemplated. What is obvious, however, is the firm and tactful handling of the difficult problems that arose, establishing peace and security, enhancement of our prestige abroad, drawing up a definite plan for action and laying down firm foundations for a prosperous future. This claim can be easily substantiated by what has been written in the foregoing chapters. Many foreign observers also have testified to this claim. Therefore, there is no scope either for diffidence or defeatism in the Congress. It bids to march on with confidence but always with humility since that is always the way of service and that is the way to the heart of the people.

In the meanwhile, in the context of the first general elections under the new Constitution, a number of parties are in the field for contest. It is as it should be in a democratic country.

Parties based on clear cut political, social and economic ideals, policies and programmes should always be welcomed in a democracy. It is on the healthy functioning of such parties and their mutual influence on each other and the general public that the successful working of democracy depends. The people must have opportunities occasionally of examining different points of view and of scrutinising the claims of all parties. They must know their principles, policies and programmes, and above all they must know the capacity of the claimants to deliver the goods.

It is obvious that it is impossible to analyse the views and claims of all these parties in this book. But it seems necessary that we should know the general complexion of the opponents so that the reader may be able to study further each party if and when necessary. Most of them call themselves All India parties. How far that claim is substantial is a matter of fact which can be ascertained by the number of branches that they have and the number of candidates that they may be able to set up. But apart from the strength of a party, we must know the general basis and the fundamental character and views of the parties.

For the very existence, defence and continuance of democracy and democratic institutions in a country, it is necessary to see that no party which purports to use violence and such other questionable means to secure power, is encouraged in any way. The use of violence and any other method of coercion is the very antithesis of democracy. It was therefore that Gandhiji always laid stress on the importance of 'means' and repeated that means should be as pure as the end.

A really healthy democracy is based on the principle of peaceful persuasion and association for that party uses the parliament and not the method of violence. But one who has a belief in violent methods or to suppress free views or to suppress free speech leads to authoritarianism and that which preaches hatred and is as much a violent party. Because as a result of it

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violence and fear are bound to rise giving birth to counter-violence and to antidemocratic forces. The electorate in a democratic country ought to beware of such parties in the midst.

In this connection, if we analyse the complexion of the parties we find that there are three types.

There are parties which believe in violence as one of the most effective means of securing an end. They may profess that they would use violence only when it is inevitable and so on. But one should never be misled by such professions. The Communist Party of India may be cited as an example. Pandit Jawaharlal in his Report to the A.I.C.C. in Bangalore has rightly said: "The Communists, whatever their ideology, have followed a path of violence and open warfare against the State. No State can tolerate that. Their object appears to have been to create chaos and disruption out of which perhaps something might come. To some extent they have varied their policies and tactics recently, but basically their approach continues to be the same as before." One need not enumerate here all such parties. An examination of their ideals and more than that, of their actions would be able to guide us in this matter. Then there are some parties based on communal considerations which do not comprehend the whole nation. Whatever their professions and defence, they uphold sectional interests and thrive by emphasis on the interests of certain communities and within the body politic and by preaching direct and veiled hatred and enmity against some other communities. As regards such parties as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Muslim League as also as regards parties based on deep-rooted vested interests, Panditji in his report to A.I.C.C. has said as follows:—

"The communalists are essentially reactionary. They have no social theory and seek inspiration from a certain form of revivalism and a narrow and bigoted nationalism which excludes large parts of the nation. And yet they talk glibly even of socialism and nationalisation, although they represent forces which are entirely opposed to these. We cannot be taken in by these phrases and we must remember that communalism has already done great injury to India and will, no doubt, do greater injury if it is given a chance. We cannot, therefore, have anything in common with them.

"There are other groups which are definitely anti-social and represent certain deep-rooted vested interests in the country, especially in land. As a rule they look to the communal organisations. With them also we have nothing in common." As regards parties which do not believe in violent methods and are not based on communal considerations but are truly democratic in their belief and action and have definite economic, political and social aims, we cannot take any exception. In fact, it is the existence of such parties that would truly promote the democratic way of working. But the differences among the parties have to be clear and defined so that there might be real mutual interaction. Parties based on personal differences or group interests are neither healthy nor helpful in democracy. The Socialist Party which was but a wing of the Congress for years may be quoted as an instance. Panditji has said in his report to A.I.C.C. "Thus in regard to the Socialist Party or the Praja Party or any like organisation, we should endeavour to have as much of co-operation in working common programmes as possible. The Congress must stand on its programmes and methods and must keep its doors open to all who agree with it. Even those who disagree with it and follow a different course, should be invited to co-operate in some of the larger issues on which we think alike."

It is from these points of view that the different parties in the field should be studied. Our approach and attitude towards them should be governed by the one consideration of the good of the country through real democratic functioning.

The Congress has always been a broad-based organisation with its roots in the masses. Whether in power or out of power, it should endeavour to keep to that base and welcome the co-operation of every other party in the handling of larger issues and the solution of all national problems.

Above all, the Congress must draw inspiration and confidence from brilliant record in the past. It can do so successfully only if it has faith in its mission to serve the masses of India effectively after freedom<sup>1</sup> as before its advent. Firm faith in our great mission and a spirit of service of our people alone can give us strength to march on. We are of the people and let us function.



Let us realise that the Congress is today the biggest political organisation in the country. It has a record of service which cannot be equalled by any other party. It has established high traditions which many others may have to follow. It has personalities and people in its ranks who have made India great and respected. Its record while in power has been considerable and one that inspires confidence in the future. Therefore, inspite of certain failures, inspite of the fact that the Congress has not been able to achieve everything, there is no cause either for diffidence or for anxiety. The Congress therefore goes ahead with confidence and means to tackle the economic and other problems according to plan. Given sufficient co-operation by the people, the Congress is sure to carry out the plan and lead the country to peace and prosperity.

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*True democracy could not be worked by twenty men sitting at the Centre. It had to be worked from below by the people of every village.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

*Mass discipline is an essential condition for a people who aspire to be a great nation.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

## CHAPTER SIX

### CRITICS OF THE CONGRESS

**T**HIS handbook would not be complete without taking note of the trends of criticism against the Congress and the way we should deal with them. It is not possible to consider vituperation, malicious and motivated attacks or baseless allegations here. Public opinion must develop and be strong enough to discourage that kind of unhealthy mudslinging. There seems to be no other way out of it at present. But all reasonable comment and criticism must be welcomed by every democratic party. Intolerance is not excusable in the matter. It is just natural that there should be more of criticism on the eve of the elections as each party would try to show the defects and foibles of the other party. It is necessary that all such criticism is studied and answered in a proper manner so that the electorate is educated and is well-equipped for using its vote in an intelligent manner.

When the Congress was fighting the country's battle for freedom there was far less of criticism by the other parties. Communal parties such as the Muslim League and the Mahasabha of course had their own innings but the country as a whole appreciated the heroic efforts of the Congress. No other party in fact, was fighting the battle and none came forward to suffer and sacrifice. The Socialist Party of today, however, was then a part and parcel of the Congress and its leaders have equally suffered with the Congress. It was after 1937 when the Congress took power in the provinces that the public began to be critical of its actions as a party. This was but quite in the fitness of things. But upto 1947 the Congress continued to be more a national front as it was still fighting for the independence of the country. It was only after independence that the Congress may be said to have become a full-fledged party in power, though it still retains some characteristics of a national organisation.

Now that the general elections are nearing, the Congress in its capacity as the party in power, is bound to be attacked by almost every other party, for acts of commission and omission.

It is being strongly criticised for its policies and programmes, for what it has done or not done or badly done. This is the time when the Congress must reiterate its faith in its principles and policies, defend what is defensible, own its failures, if any, and prove to the people that the Congress has done its best under the circumstances and would deliver the goods when returned to power. The Congress can well declare that no other party could have done better on the whole and that there is no other party today on the horizon which has such a broad base, such a mass following, such a nationwide organisation, such a tradition of service and such experienced people who have proved their ability and who would be able to tackle the situation with confidence and with success.

The Congress must stand firmly and defend its basic policies. It is not necessary to enumerate here all those policies. But it is sufficient to indicate that the Congress cannot yield to anybody in its faith in democratic principles, in its belief in a secular state, in its working vigorously for a welfare state according to the constitution, and in its faith in world peace.

As regards what a party has done or has failed to do during its regime, it is usual to compare its achievements with those of any other party that might have been in power last. Here that question does no arise. It was the British that were in power before the Congress took up and there is no meaning in comparing the Congress regime with the regime of the foreigners who were here mainly for the benefit of their own country. What however can be done in the case of the Congress regime is to examine its achievements or failures in terms of its Election Manifesto, the past resolutions of the Congress, the pledges and promises that were given and the expectations raised in the minds of the people. While doing so, the special difficulties that arose and the peculiar circumstances under which the Congress had to work will also have to be taken into consideration. For every government has to work under conditions.

Though there is likely to be a general agreement among most of the parties regarding some of the achievements of the Congress party, every party is bound to have its fling against some of the policies and programmes and actions of the Congress. It is obviously not possible to go into all such criticism here. But one can easily anticipate a particular line of criticism by a

party if one examines that party's manifesto. We should expect criticism not only from political parties who want to fight the elections, but also from unattached public men and from journalists who claim to read the public mind. The Congress party has to study and examine all this criticism and defend itself before the bar of public opinion.

The type of criticism that would come from parties like the Communist Party of India would be quite fundamental and it would attack the very basis of the Congress. That is because that party stands for a social and economic revolution and that even by violence. While the Congress stands for a cooperative commonwealth or a welfare state in terms of the Constitution, the Communist Party stands for a Communist state and all that it may cannote in the way of liquidating by force all other classes. The Congress defence in such cases is obvious and it must stand by its firm belief in democracy and the common good of all who constitute society. The kind of criticism that would come from communalists also can be anticipated. Those parties would attack the idea of the secular state, of equal treatment to all religious and communal minorities. Here the Congress has stood for a secular state where all are equal citizens with equal rights irrespective of their caste, colour, community or religion. The Constitution is very clear on this matter. Then there are parties which are based on certain economic and political theories. They would attack the idea of the cooperative commonwealth and seek to substitute some other type of society in the place of the present one.

Apart from criticism of this fundamental type, there is bound to be criticism of other policies and measures adopted by the Congress governments. For instance, the Congress is attacked because it consented to partition. The fact that the Congress was never an advocate of it, that it fought to the last against it, that it has never subscribed to the two-nation theory is completely ignored by the critics. The critics also forget conveniently that partition was forced on the country by the departing British rulers with the help of the Muslim League, that the alternative was the continuance of slavery, that it was accepted as an inevitable thing to avoid a worse disaster, that full consultations were held with the representatives of the people concerned and that it was only after their consent that it was agreed to.

Similarly there are a number of other items such as Indo-Pakistan relations, Kashmir, foreign policy, controls, economic policy, press laws, corruption in administration etc. which would be points of attack by the critics. It is necessary that on the basis of facts and on the basis of sound policies adopted the Congress should be able to justify its action during the last four years. It is obviously necessary to study not only what the central government has done in many matters but also it is useful to know what the state governments have done. It is only then that the picture can be complete and a full answer can be given to any particular item of criticism.

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*We would have been nowhere if there had been no Congress to agitate for the rights of the people.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

*The Congress is essentially and pre-eminently a Kisan organisation. It also endeavours to represent the Zamindars and the propertied classes, but only to the extent that the interests of the Kisans are not prejudiced thereby. The Congress is nothing if it does not represent the Kisans.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PROGRAMME FOR THE FUTURE

ONE need not repeat here what the Congress in power has done during the last four and a quarter years. Indian borders are secure today. Internal peace has been established. There is all-sided integration, political and administrative, throughout India. But all this means nothing if the many economic and social problems are not dealt with successfully. The Congress is fully aware as to how much yet remains to be done, particularly in the sphere of economic development and progress. It is to that end that a Planning Commission was appointed and it has come out with a five years' blueprint which has now received the general assent of the Parliament.

While the election manifesto deals with general policies in all other matters, the Five Year Plan stands for the concrete steps that are going to be taken on the economic and social front for the solution of the many problems confronting us. The Plan as accepted by the Parliament has been drafted from the practical point of view and only after long consultations with the state governments and other interests concerned.

The general objectives of the Congress have now been embodied in the Directive Principles of State policy enunciated in the Constitution of India. These principles visualise an economic and social order based on equality of opportunity, social justice, the right to work, the right to an adequate wage and a measure of social security for all citizens. While these principles do not prescribe any rigid economic or social framework, economic development must follow along these lines; and the struggle for economic emancipation and progress which we have already begun and propose to pursue with all our zeal, should in due course lead to the economic and social pattern envisaged in the Constitution.

The Congress Constitution lays down as its aim the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Co-operative Commonwealth and fellowship.

and world peace, prosperity and progress. Thus, the objective, as well as the method is one of co-operation and the avoidance, as far as possible, of unhealthy competition and conflict. This conception of social organisation would lead to the SECULAR STATE in which every individual has equal rights and opportunities and there are no barriers between sections of population on the basis of religion, caste, class, sex or region. This principle would bring about social cohesion and India would then become the land of our dreams. There would be prosperity for all. In the international sphere we work on the basis of a foreign policy which steers clear of rival power blocks and builds for understanding among nations and world peace.

### **A Planned Economy**

The economic progress of a country with limited resources, such as India is at present, depends on the most effective and balanced utilisation of all the available resources for the common good. This is not possible in a *laissez faire* economy. The Congress stands for a planned economy aiming at the objectives mentioned above. No doubt, within this broad perspective we have to make a choice among competing objectives—maximum production, full employment, lower prices, greater equality of incomes. The Planning Commission, appointed a year and a half back, has submitted its Report and recommended a policy and programme for development of the various sectors of our economy. The Congress has welcomed the functioning of the Planning Commission. The Parliament has approved the First Five Year Plan. The fulfilment of a Plan always depends on the measure of support and co-operation forthcoming from the people, on the character and determination of the Government, and the efficiency and honesty of administration. The Congress is confident that all these will be available and India will progress according to plan.

### **The Five Year Plan**

The Commission's Five Year Plan has been generally regarded as a practicable proposition. It is divided into two parts. The first part will cost Rs. 1,493 crores. By implementing it, the essential consumer goods such as cloth and food will be available in 1955-56 to the same extent as they were before the war. This calculation allows for the anticipated increase of population by 26 millions over the five-year period. In addition,

he Plan will have created a substantial amount of new productive equipment for a more rapid development in the future.

The expenditure envisaged in the first part is absolutely essential if our economy is to progress at all. In fact, some more investment would be highly desirable. This is provided for in the second part, which will cost Rs. 300 crores. Together the two parts involve an outlay of Rs. 1,793 crores in the public sector.

### Pattern of Development

The figures below show how the different sectors of our economic life will benefit under the First Five Year Plan.

	Outlay (1951-56) (in crores of rupees)	Percentage of total outlay (1951-56)
Agriculture and Rural Development	191·70	12·8
Irrigation and Power	450·26	30·2
Transport & Communication	388·20	26·1
Industry	100·99	6·7
Social Services	254·08	17·0
Rehabilitation	79·00	5·3
Miscellaneous	26·54	1·9
	1,492·77	100·0

Agriculture occupies the pride of place in the Plan and rightly so. More than two-thirds of our population is dependent on the land. Unless we help the villager to produce more and to earn more, the momentum for progress will be lacking in our economy. Moreover, the shortage of raw materials has affected our jute, textile and sugar industries, while heavy imports of foodgrains have prevented us from importing capital goods. Hence the attempt to balance the economy by de



### Priorities

The priorities defined by the Commission take into account the need for completing the programmes already taken in hand including the rehabilitation of displaced persons. It lays the greatest stress on the desirability of increasing the production of food and raw materials and of making power available on an adequate scale. Then follow schemes for improvement of transport, development of certain vital industries, the construction of roads and the extension of social services, such as housing, education and medical relief.

In each field, the Commission has suggested a policy, a programme and an agency to execute the various schemes of development affecting our national life.

### Irrigation and Power.

India has an ample supply of water but it has not been fully used for our needs. According to experts we are at present using about 6 per cent of the flow of our rivers. Although in India the areas under irrigation is nearly 48 million acres more than twice as large as in any other country of the world, it constitutes only one-fifth of the total area under cultivation. The rest of the land is at the mercy of the monsoon which is notoriously fickle. No wonder there is always an element of uncertainty in our food supply.

To rescue our farmers from the vagaries of the monsoon there is the pressing need to make the fullest use of our water resources. This explains why the Commission has allotted Rs. 450 crores to irrigation and power projects. The annual expenditure and the likely future benefits from these projects are given below:

Year	Expenditure in crores of rupees	Additional irrigation (acres)	Additional Power (KW)
1951-52	99	1,559,000	144,000
1952-53	112	2,710,000	373,000
1953-54	100	4,525,000	889,000
1954-55	77	6,725,000	1,000,000
1955-56	53	8,832,000	1,114,000
Ultimate	..	16,501,000	1,935,000

In the first part of the Plan preference is to be given to projects likely to yield additional food at an early date, while the multi-purpose schemes have been so phased that irrigation works are completed earlier.

In addition to the projects included in the Plan, a number of other schemes are under investigation. These will form part of a programme which, over a period of 15 or 20 years, will help to double the area under irrigation and to increase the supply of power by 7 million kw. "It is only by utilising the available resources for irrigation and generation of power on this scale and by the adoption of intensive measures for improving the standard of agricultural production and the promotion of cottage, small and large scale industries with the help of cheap electric power, that an appreciable rise in the standard of living can be achieved."

### Industry

Here is the plan for the Industrial Sector :

	2 years total	5 years total
	1951-52	1951-56
	(crores of rupees)	
Large Scale Industries	38.093	79.540
Cottage & Small scale Industries	4.760	15.776
Scientific & Industrial Research	2.431	4.614
Mineral Development	.279	1.062
	45.562	100.992

### Public Sector

Today the country is able to produce most of its requirements in consumer goods. These include textiles, sugar, salt, soap, leather goods and paper. Also, in the manufacture of steel, cement, power alcohol, non-ferrous metals and heavy chemicals which are the raw materials of other industries, the country has made good progress. Many new industries came into existence during and after the last war, and India now produces

bicycles, radios, automobiles, electric fans and other electrical appliances. With the setting up of plants for the manufacture of machine tools, diesel engines, textile machinery and locomotives, a beginning has been made in the production of capital goods. On the whole, while the consumer goods industries are well established, the industries producing capital goods still lag behind.

In recent years, however, there has been a substantial decline—in some cases, 20 to 30 per cent—in industrial productivity. The arrears in wartime replacement, difficulties in obtaining raw materials, relations between labour and industry and deterioration in the standards of management are some of the causes responsible for this downward trend.

These drawbacks must be removed. The main emphasis of the Plan is on the development of such industries as will help the implementation of irrigation and agricultural projects and the maximum utilisation of the capacity of industries manufacturing consumer goods.

In the Public Sector, as already stated, under the Plan the State will not make large investments in industry. Its limited resources will be utilised to complete such projects as the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Locomotive Works at Chittaranjan, the Dry Core Cable Factory and schemes for the production of machine tools, telephone equipment and mathematical instruments. Thus, new projects will not be undertaken unless they are considered absolutely essential.

### **Private Sector**

It is obvious that private enterprise will continue to play an essential role in the industrial field. The programme for the private sector of industry has been drawn up in consultation with representatives of various industries and is given below.

To make sure that the available resources are used advantageously and that private enterprise functions in conformity with the social and economic policy of the Government, the Industries Development Control Act has been passed. The Act provides among other things that :

- (i) no new industry be established and old one expanded without the Government's approval. While giving this approval the Government will lay down conditions regarding the location of the proposed enterprise.
- (ii) the Government can look into the affairs of the industrial undertaking which (a) show fall in production and deterioration in the quality of manufactures (b) use resources of national importance, and (c) are managed in a manner likely to prejudice the interests of shareholders or consumers.

### **Development Councils**

It is clear that while the State must have these powers, the impetus for improvement must come from the industry itself. For this purpose, the Commission has suggested that the Industries Control Bill should provide for the establishment of Development Councils. For each important industry there should be a Council consisting of representatives of the industry, labour, technical management and the Government. The administrative and technical staff of the Council will be provided by the Government. The Council will :

- (i) formulate the measures for fuller utilisation of installed capacity ;
- (ii) suggest norms of efficiency with a view to eliminating waste and obtaining maximum production of the requisite quality ;
- (iii) recommend measures for improving the working of the industry, particularly of inefficient units ;
- (iv) help in devising a system of distribution and sales which would satisfy the consumer ; and
- (v) provide a vital link between Government and industry with a view to promoting sound industrial development.

### **Social Services**

Social services include everything that contribute to the welfare of the community, such as education, health, the uplift of the backward and the under-privileged and schemes for removing

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the disabilities of women, children, the youth, the deaf, the mute  
the maimed and the vagrant :

	2 years total 1951-53	5 years total 1951-56
	(crores of rupees)	
Education	44.531	123.049
Health	33.731	83.598
Housing	9.484	22.808
Labour & Labour Welfare	2.483	6.749
Amelioration of backward classes	6.69	18.020
	97.190	254.224

**Education**

Only about a seventh of our population is literate. Apart from its inadequacy, our educational system is also unrelated to our requirements. We need larger facilities for education as well as a radical change in its contents. This vast subject is to be shortly considered by the Commission's advisers. Meanwhile the Commission touches a few aspects of the subject which have bearing on national planning.

In the last five years the expenditure on education in Part A states has more than doubled. They are, therefore, unlikely to be in a position to spend much more on education. The Plan envisages a modest expansion of educational facilities for which Rs. 91 crores are provided for all the States.

The educational activities of the Centre, too, will of necessity, be limited. They will be confined only to select schemes, such as pilot projects, experiments in improved educational methods, production of suitable literature, training of personnel, translation of important works into Indian languages and the promotion of the federal language.

**Health**

A community in good health is a prime condition of progress. Perfect health means not only good physique but a complete

adjustment of man to his physical, mental and social environment. Health planning must, therefore, aim at providing not only curative and preventive health services, but hygienic houses, adequate and wholesome food, fresh air and recreational and cultural facilities.

In India our standard of health is poor. The causes are: poverty, ignorance, under-nourishment, adulterated food, want of protected water supply and proper drainage. The health services in most of our cities and villages are inadequate. The Health Survey and Development Committee which considered the problem of health recommended that the country should have one doctor for every 2,000, one nurse for 500 and one mid-wife for 4,000 persons. We have one doctor for 63,000 one nurse for 45,000 and one mid-wife for every 60,000 persons. These figures give some indication of the leeway to be made up. Much as we would like to make a concerted effort to improve the community's health, the paucity of funds precludes any ambitious programme. We must, therefore restrict ourselves to the most essential measures. For the present the emphasis will be on preventive rather than curative services. Even these measures cannot be taken all over the country on the same scale. Hence attention must be concentrated primarily on rural areas marked for intensive development and on industrial centres. Even these efforts will have to be confined to problems which are easily handled and promise tangible results within the next five years.

We should, for example, try first to control malaria and tuberculosis, and improve water supply and drainage in the rural areas. To this end health units, each capable of looking after the varied needs of a block of 40 square miles and a population of 40,000, should be organised. More maternity and child welfare centres should be opened in the towns and *dais* given proper training in the villages.

To look after the health of workers in industrial areas, a whole-time qualified medical inspector should be appointed. His duty will be to ensure that health and safety regulations are followed in industrial establishments.

To meet the growing need for medical, health and research personnel, medical institutions are to be expanded and new

graded. In addition the Centre will set up an all India Medical Institute to train teachers for medical colleges.

### Housing

Adequate housing is a primary need of man. There is serious dearth of accommodation especially in towns. The influx of millions of displaced persons has aggravated the problem, especially in the urban areas. To make matters worse, building activity has been extremely slack.

Private enterprise by itself does not appear likely to be able to cope with the situation. Consequently the Government must step in and sponsor a programme of construction. The problem, must, however, be tackled in stages because of the limited resources at the command of the community. For the present, we must, therefore, give more attention to the urban areas and to the needs of persons with low incomes.

The Commission has accordingly worked out a scheme for industrial housing on the basis of contributions by workers, employers and the State. This programme envisages the construction of 125,000 subsidised houses in 5 years, i.e., 25,000 houses every year. To implement the scheme, a National Housing Fund will be raised as below :

<i>Source</i>	<i>Basis of Contribution</i>	<i>Estimated Receipts (crores)</i>
Employers	Outright grant amounting to 2½% of the total wage bill	15
Workers	2½% of monthly wages to be treated as loan at 3%	15
Central Government	Average grant of 2.7 crores per year	13.5
State Governments		3.7

To utilise this sum to the best advantage, the land should be available at reasonable rates and the cost of construction kept

low. As the value of land in the big cities is rising, and large areas of land will be needed for building in the industrial cities, the price of land will be a substantial factor in the construction cost. Land should, therefore, be made available for housing purposes at reasonable prices. The States should have powers to acquire land. At the same time, to keep the cost of construction down, detailed estimates should be made before the work is started. The present method of budgeting from year to year makes it difficult to draw up plans in advance.

### Prospects

Finally, what do we expect the Plan to achieve? In the agricultural sector additional production under the Plan will be as follows:

	<i>Millions</i>
Foodgrains	7.2 tons
Oil Seeds	.375 tons
Sugar	.690 tons
Jute	2.060 (bales of 400 lb. each)
Cotton	1.200 (bales of 339 lb. each)

To the common man this increased output would mean that he would have more to eat. Today the daily ration is 12 oz. per adult. When the Plan is completed in 1955-56, the Government will be in a position to give 14.5 oz. per person, assuming of course, that the target of 7.2 million tons of additional foodgrains materialises and that we are able to import 3 million tons of food grains annually.

Meanwhile the present shortage of cotton will disappear through additional output. Thus, after 1955-56, we need import only about 0.7 million bales of the fine varieties of cotton which cannot be grown in the country.

Similarly, our dependence on foreign jute will be reduced from 3.3 million bales to about 1.2 million bales, while the increased supply of sugar and oilseeds will make a higher standard of domestic consumption as well as grea



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With more cotton available in the country, the cotton textile industry will be able to produce 4,500 million yards of cloth and handloom another 1,900 million yards. This will mean that by 1955-56 there will be enough cloth produced in the country to enable the Government to give 15 yards of cloth to every person against the present average of 13.4 yards and at the same time to export 600 to 700 million yards. The output of jute industry will also increase by about a fourth.

Similarly the sugar industry will be able to work to full capacity and the availability of sugar per head will rise from 6.3 lbs. in 1949-50 to about 8.3 lbs. in 1955-56.

Unfortunately, the increase in the output of basic industries such as steel, cement and aluminium, will not be sufficient to meet the needs of the country. However, with additional industrial production and power the foundations of rapid industrial development will have been laid in the meantime. The Plan will thus restore a measure of stability and balance in the economy. With all-round increase in production we will be able to increase our exports. More exports will enable us to buy a larger volume of goods from abroad. More imports and greater internal production will thus make the necessities of life as plentiful as they were before the war.

### **Diversification of Consumption**

The standard of life of a community is not, of course, judged merely by food and clothing. With increasing incomes there also arises a differentiation of wants which results in a more varied diet, better quality of clothing, and increase in ancillary requirements, such as bicycles, furniture shoes, radios and travel. Such diversification of consumption has already been taking place in the last two or three decades. The Plan will stimulate this process. Nevertheless, its contribution to standards of living cannot at present be assessed in quantitative terms.

### **National Importance of the Plan**

Will the Plan be implemented? The answer is that if our economic condition is to improve, or, indeed, not to deteriorate any further, the Plan must be executed. It does not aim too high. In fact, other countries have carried out far more ambi-

tious projects. Our people have proved their mettle in the struggle for freedom. They will not be found wanting now that we are trying to make our country a better and happier place to live in.

If the nation desires a decent standard of living, which it certainly does, it has to work hard and according to a plan. The Five Year Plan has shown the way. It is a modest beginning but its successful implementation will not only bring material benefit to every man and woman in the country but also give them experience and confidence for bigger and greater tasks that await us in the future.

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*it is impossible for one to be a internationalist without list. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism i.e., when people belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act as one man. It is not nationalism that is evil; it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations, which is evil. Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on, the ruin of the other. Indian nationalism has, I hope, struck a different path.—MAHATMA GANDHI.*







## ELECTION MANIFESTO—1945

**F**OR sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this long span of years its history has been the history of the Indian people straining at the leash that has held them in bondage, ever trying to unloose themselves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages. From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organisation, the living and vibrant symbol of India's will to **FREEDOM** and **INDEPENDENCE**. From generation to generation it has dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner innumerable countrymen and countrywomen of ours have laid down their lives and undergone sufferings in order to redeem the pledge they had taken. By service and sacrifice it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people; by its refusal to submit to any dishonour to our nation it has built up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule. The career of the Congress has been one of both constructive effort for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom. In this struggle it has faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great Empire. Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts but has gained new strength from them. After the recent 3 years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and become more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress.

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius; it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas of Provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a **lytic** and

basis. It has stood for the rights of all those who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of barriers to equality.

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with the fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the Constitution. This Constitution, in its view, should be a federal one with autonomy for its constituent units, and independent legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise. The federation of India must be a willing Union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units there may be a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desire to do so.

### **Fundamental Rights**

The Constitution shall provide for fundamental rights, among them the following:—

1. Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.
2. Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.
3. The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.
4. All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.
5. No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.
6. All citizens have equal rights in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State or

local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

7. Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

8. No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

9. The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

10. The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

11. The State shall provide for free and compulsory basic education.

12. Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to follow any trade or calling and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

The State shall further provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and the development of the backward or suppressed elements in the population, so that they might make rapid progress and take a full and equal part in national life. In particular, the State will help in the development of the people of the tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the education and social and economic progress of the scheduled classes.

### **Content of Freedom**

A hundred and fifty years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution. Intensive exploitation of the country and the people during this period has reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation. The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation. During the years of war this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority in utter disregard of Indian



interests and views, and an incompetence in administration reached a new height leading to terrible famine and widespread misery. There is no way to solving any of these urgent problems except through "freedom" and "independence." The content of political freedom must be both economic and social.

The most vital and urgent of India's problems is to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of living of the masses. It is to the well-being and progress of these masses that the Congress had directed its special attention and its constructive activities. It is by their well-being and advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change, and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities, must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefiting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level, removing unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the individual.

For this purpose it will be necessary to plan and coordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that Free India may develop into a Co-operative Commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance, must be regulated in the national interest.

### Land and Agriculture

Though poverty is widespread in India, it is essentially a rural problem, caused chiefly by over-pressure on land and lack of other wealth-producing occupations. India, under British rule has been progressively ruralised, many of her avenues of work and employment closed, and a vast mass of the population

thrown on the land, which has undergone continuous fragmentation, till a very large number of holdings have become uneconomic. It is essential, therefore, that the problem of the land should be dealt with in all its aspects. Agriculture has to be improved on scientific lines and industry has to be developed rapidly in its various forms—large-scale, medium and small so as not only to produce wealth, but also to absorb people from the land. In particular, cottage industries have to be encouraged both as whole-time and part-time occupations. It is essential that in planning and the development of industry, while maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at, it should be borne in mind that this is not done at the cost of creating fresh unemployment. Planning must lead to maximum employment, indeed to the employment of every able-bodied person. Landless labourers should have opportunities of work offered to them and be absorbed in agriculture or industry.

The reform of the land system which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should, therefore, be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of co-operative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental co-operative farms should be organised with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.

### **Balanced Economy**

In the development of land and industry there has to be a proper integration and balance, between rural and urban economy. In the past, rural economy has suffered, and the town and city have prospered at the cost of village. This has to be righted and an attempt made to equalise, so far as possible, the standards of life of town dwellers and villagers. Industry should not be concentrated in particular provinces, so as to give a balanced economy to each province and it should be decentralised, as far as this is possible without sacrifice of efficiency. Both the development of land and of industry, as well as the health and well-

being of the people, require the harnessing and proper utilisation of the vast energy that is represented by the great rivers of India, which is not only largely running to waste but is often the cause of great injury to the land and the people who live on it. River commissions should be constituted to undertake this task in order to promote irrigation and ensure an even and continuous supply of water, to prevent disastrous floods and soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, to develop hydro-electric power, and in other ways to help in raising the general standard of life, especially in the rural areas. The power resources of the country have to be developed rapidly in this and other ways in order to provide the necessary foundation for the growth of industry and agriculture.

### **Social Security and Services**

Adequate arrangement should be made for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically, culturally and morally, and to fit them for the new forms of work and services which will open out before them. Public health services which are essential for the growth of the nation should be provided for on the widest scale and in this, as in other matters, the needs of the rural areas should receive special attention. These should include special provisions for maternity and child welfare. Conditions should thus be created in which every individual has an equal opportunity for advance in every field of national activity and there is social security for all.

Science in its innumerable fields of activity has played an ever-increasing part in influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defence, depend upon it. Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State and should be organised and encouraged on the widest scale.

In regard to labour, the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic

consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form Unions to protect their interests.

Rural indebtedness has in the past crushed the agricultural population, and though, owing to various causes in recent years this has grown less, the burden still continues and must be removed, cheap credit must be made available through co-operatives. Co-operatives should also be organised for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular, industrial co-operatives should be encouraged as being especially suited for the development of small-scale industry on a democratic basis.

### **Urgent Problems**

While the immediate and urgent problems of India can only be effectively tackled by joint and planned attack on all fronts—political, economic, agricultural, industrial and social—certain needs are of paramount importance today. Owing to the gross incompetence and mismanagement of the Government an incredible amount of suffering has been caused to the people of India. Millions have died of starvation, and scarcity of food and clothing is still widespread. Corruption in the services and in all matters pertaining to the supply and control of the vital necessities of life is rampant and has become intolerable. These urgent problems require immediate attention.

In international affairs the Congress stands for the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations. Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations and particularly with her neighbours. In the Far East, in South-East Asia and in Western Asia, India has had trade and cultural relations for thousands of years and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations. Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand closer contacts with these regions. India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples for, only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established.

### Congress Battle-cry

On the 8th of August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's story. By it demands and challenge the Congress stands today. It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that the Congress faces the elections.

The Congress, therefore, appeals to the voters all over the country to support Congress candidates in every way at the forthcoming elections, and to stand by the Congress at this critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities. In these elections, petty issues do not count, nor do individuals, nor sectarian cries —only one thing counts. The Freedom and Independence of our Motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people. Many a time the people of India have taken the Pledge of Independence; that pledge has yet to be redeemed, and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us. The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full. This election is a small test for us, a preparation for the greater things to come. Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence and march together to the Free India of our dreams.

## ELECTION MANIFESTO—1951

**T**HE achievement of independence and the establishment of the Indian Republic concluded one phase of the Indian people's struggle for emancipation. The success of this phase of our struggle for freedom was unique in many respects. Under the leadership of Gandhiji the National Congress carried on this struggle and endeavoured to follow, to the best of its ability, the policy and methods which Gandhiji had laid down. In co-operation with vast numbers of the men and women of our country, it was the high privilege of the Congress to serve the cause of the country and of the masses of our people and lead them to success. The Father of the Nation told us to value the moral and ethical basis of national life and made this the condition of political action. He emphasised that means were as important as ends and the means we adopt ultimately shape the ends which follow. In accordance with India's immemorial teaching and heritage, the performance of duty was given first place, and rights and privileges naturally flowed from them. The Congress and the people could only imperfectly follow this teaching, but the inspiration they drew from it, benefited them and led them towards their goal. It is necessary for all of us to keep this in mind when conflict darkens the world and dissensions and a lowering of standards threaten our public life. It is only by adhering to these first principles that real success can be achieved and India can prosper and rise to her destined heights.

2. Even during our struggle for independence, its content was not merely political freedom, but also the freedom of the masses from exploitation and want. The provision of basic material needs of food, clothing and shelter was the first essential, to be followed by the provision for cultural growth. On the attainment of independence, exceedingly difficult problems confronted the nation and even threatened the newly won freedom. During the last four years, these great problems of ensuring the freedom and integrity of the country, of integrating the various parts into the Union of India, of attempting to rehabilitate millions of displaced persons, and of laying the foundations for future growth have absorbed the mind and energy of the country. The last Great War put an end in many ways

other vocations. Some of these can be absorbed in large industries but, in the main, scope for absorption will come through small scale and cottage industries. These cottage industries are particularly important in India and must be developed and protected with the aid of the State and co-ordinated with other forms of industry. But it must always be borne in mind that the best techniques should be employed for small scale and cottage industries in order to make them effective and economic. For this purpose the State should encourage research. Cottage industries should be organised in industrial co-operatives, wherever possible. The main field of employment for the educated youth has to be found in well-organised and properly conducted industries. The handloom industry is our major cottage industry and deserves every help from Government. It has suffered from lack of yarn and because of this many handloom weavers have been unemployed or only partly employed. Government should make special arrangements for the supply of adequate quantities of yarn to them.

10. It is not possible to pursue a policy of *laissez-faire* in industry. This has been rejected in most countries and is peculiarly unsuited to present-day conditions in India. It is incompatible with any planning. It has long been the Congress policy that basic industries should be owned or controlled by the State. This policy holds and must be progressively given effect to. State trading should be undertaken wherever the balance of advantage lies in favour of such a course. A large field for private enterprise is, however, left over. In this field the aim should be to develop co-operative enterprise on an increasing scale. Thus, our economy will have a public sector as well as private sector. But the private sector must accept the objectives of the National Plan and fit into it. The progressive extension of the public sector in the field of what is now the private sector must depend on various factors, including the results achieved, the resources available and the capacity of the country at the moment. The test should always be what serves the social ends in view. No vested interest or inherited privilege should be allowed to come in the way of the country's economic progress, nor should we allow ourselves to be distracted by slogans and doctrines which sound attractive, but which might lead to a worsening of the condition of our people.
11. The general objective of economic progress has to be translated into concrete programmes in close relation to the

needs of the people and the available means and resources. The first consideration must always be to avoid a breakdown on any point in respect of whatever is essential for the life of the community. This necessitates a system of controlled distribution in regard to commodities which are in short supply. It is also of the highest importance to keep prices from rising and to endeavour to reduce them. Many of our difficulties to-day are due to a high and rising price level and economic development has been seriously hampered because of this. If prices rise, this will not only come in the way of all progress, but will even prove detrimental to the real interests of those very sections of our people for whose supposed benefit an increase in prices is sometimes advocated. Therefore, it is of essential importance to follow firmly a price policy aiming at first, a prevention of a further rise and secondly, to reduce present prices. Steps must be taken to maintain a fair and proper structure of relative prices as between agricultural commodities *inter se*, and between them and manufactured articles.

12. If prices have to be held and reduced, some measure of controlled distribution becomes essential. In the matter of food, the fate of millions of people is bound up with the presence of a nation-wide system of controls. But for these controls, the threat of famine might have materialised in different parts of the country. We must endeavour to create conditions of relative abundance of articles which are necessary for the masses. As this happens, these controls can be progressively dispensed with. But till we have an adequate supply, we must co-operate to make the controls function more effectively. Hesitancy and opposition to controls themselves produce weakness in their working. It is true that controls have led to corruption. The way to deal with this is to make the controls effective and to improve their administration.

13. Considerable progress has been made in the development of scientific research and the application of science to industry. This must be continued and adequate provision made for technical education. Top priority has been given and must continue to be given to river valley schemes which are basic for the development of agriculture and power supply. In regard to heavy industry, priority should be given to those industries which are considered of basic importance, such as steel, heavy chemicals, fertilisers and machine tools.



14. Any all-round development of the country on a significant scale must strain its resources to the utmost, necessitating the need for much larger savings on the part of the community. In order to build a better future we must be prepared to suffer hardships in the present. The necessary sacrifice in consumption has to be spread as widely as possible, but those with higher incomes have special obligations to fulfil in this respect. Corporate savings should play an increasing role in capital formation. Steps have already been made in several States to utilise the voluntary effort of the people for constructive purposes and these have met with considerable success. A planned effort should be made to canalize, in an organised way, the unused time, skill, and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis for the economic and social betterment of the community.

15. The achievement of economic equality and social justice must proceed side by side with economic progress. Thus alone can social peace and democracy be preserved. The post-war shift in relative prices has, to some extent, rectified the disparity between the rural and the urban sectors. The measures for economic development being undertaken by the State, particularly the large irrigation and power projects and the programmes for agricultural improvement, will lead to a further levelling up of the standard of living of the masses, especially in the rural areas. Between the upper and the lower ranges of fixed incomes, the gap has been narrowed in terms of the standard of living. Much more remains to be done. Redirection of public expenditure in the interests of social welfare and the imposition of estate duties on succession should be fully availed of as a means for the removal of inequalities. The tax structure should be examined and other methods explored for bringing about a reasonable relationship between the minimum and the maximum incomes, both in the private and the public sectors, in keeping with the economic conditions of the country. Inequalities have been accentuated during recent years largely in consequence of illegitimate gains from black marketing, tax evasion, certain forms of speculation and other anti-social activities. To give immediate relief to the people and to promote social justice, these evils should be curbed with a strong hand. There has been uneven economic development in various regions in the country. In our further programmes for development of irrigation, power, agriculture and industry, the claims of these regions should be given special consideration.

16. The concern of the State for safeguarding the rights and interests of labour has expressed itself in several advanced measures of legislation. There is however much room for improving the implementation of these laws. Housing for workers is of great importance and should be encouraged by the State to the best of its ability and resources, in cooperation with the employers and the workers. A rise in the standard of living of the workers is not only desirable in itself, but leads to greater productivity. The *per capita* productivity in India, when compared to some other countries, is low. This may be due to a variety of causes which must be investigated. It must be borne in mind however, that without higher productivity the interests of the nation as well as of the workers must suffer. The machinery and procedure relating to arbitration and adjudication of disputes should be so improved as to secure fair settlements, based on the principle of social justice and with the least expenditure of time and money. Legal technicalities, formalities and appeals should be reduced to the minimum.

17. Considerable improvement has been made in our railway services. The Chittaranjan Locomotives Works have been established as a State enterprise for the production of locomotives; the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. are also producing railway carriages. The objective is to move towards self-sufficiency; progress is being made in this direction, though it will necessarily take time. A continuous attempt has to be made to bring about further improvements in administration and for the convenience of passengers, more especially those travelling in the lower classes.

18. In some States, transport services have been nationalised resulting in greater efficiency and convenience to the public. This policy should be continued.

19. The public services and methods of recruitment have to be conditioned and adapted for the purposes of the National Plan. Special training should be given, where necessary, for the purposes of the nationalised or public sector of our economy. It is essential that high moral standards should be maintained in our public work and while good work should receive commendation, bad work should be condemned. An effective machinery for this should be devised.

20. There has been frequent reference to corruption and there is little doubt that various forms of corruption exist as social evils to-day. Every effort must be made to put an end to this evil and some form of summary method must be devised to deal with such cases. At present the real difficulty in dealing with these matters is due to the dilatoriness of procedure in departmental inquiries and judicial proceedings in the law courts, and the standard of formal proof required, which often leads to the guilty escaping punishment.

21. The importance of education and public health is well recognised and yet no marked advance can be made in them so long as our resources are limited. At the same time, it is necessary to direct education in the right channels and remove many of the evils from which it suffers today. Education should be looked upon as something which trains the intellect and builds the character of the student, and not merely as a means for employment. What the next generation will be depends upon the education given now and the importance of this cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. Our system of education should not be divorced from the productive and other needs of the community, but should be related to them and be conducive to their fulfilment. The principles of basic education, *i.e.* learning through a craft, should be utilised to the largest possible extent. Even in higher education, some form of manual work should form an essential part of the curriculum, without which degrees or diplomas should not be given. An essential part of education should be an appreciation of and devotion to Truth and Beauty in their various forms. Art and literature, music and drama, singing and dancing should be encouraged.

22. In regard to public health, considerable progress has been made in the control of epidemic diseases and provision of improved water supply and general sanitation. The control of malaria has been effective in certain areas and has resulted in freeing these areas for intensive cultivation. Both from the point of view of public health and of production, malaria control is important and should be encouraged. A significant indication of the improvement in public health is the considerable fall in the death rate and a higher expectation of life.

23. The Constitution has laid a special duty on Government to bring about the economic and cultural advancement of

Scheduled Castes and tribes and other backward classes. Both the Central and State Governments have given particular attention to this important matter. The Congress, under Gandhiji's lead, has always made the social uplift of these backward classes as one of its principal planks and has laboured to this end with considerable success. This work must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others. In particular, the tribal people have to be helped to develop according to their own genius.

24. Owing to certain historical and administrative necessities of the moment, certain States in India were classified as Part B and Part C States. This classification was transitional and cannot be considered to be permanent. It has to be remembered that certain parts of India have developed differently during past years. Certain border areas, as well as certain areas inhabited by tribal people, require special treatment. The general policy in regard to Parts B and C States should be to speed up the removal of differential treatment as rapidly as possible. The chief difficulty in regard to these States has been the lack of a legislature in most of them. As soon as properly constituted legislatures come into existence, the differences between them and Part A States will largely disappear. Where such legislatures and Ministers exist, there is no longer any reason for any differentiation to continue, except to the extent that there are certain covenants which have to be honoured. In regard to some of the small Part C States, the question of merger into a large unit should be considered.

25. One of the major problems before us during the last four years, which has demanded and must continue to demand priority and full attention is that of the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from Pakistan. According to the figures of the last census, forty-nine lakhs came from Western Pakistan and about 26 lakhs from Eastern Pakistan. Of those coming from Western Pakistan, about 29 lakhs came from rural areas. Land-owners and cultivators from the West Punjab and displaced agriculturists from the rest of West Pakistan who were desirous to do cultivation here, have been settled on land except those who preferred urban occupation. The latter are estimated to number about 7 lakhs. Of the 27 lakhs urban people from West Pakistan, it is estimated that nearly 13 lakhs have been

rehabilitated either by finding gainful employment in Government or other services or by being given vocational or technical training. In addition, 9,63,000 persons (including dependents) have been provided with means of livelihood through grant of loans and maintenance allowances, allotment of shop and industrial concerns and admission to Homes and training centres. Of the remaining nearly 4½ lakh of urban displaced persons, the majority did not require or ask for governmental assistance.

The problem of displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan became serious early in 1950 and rehabilitation schemes were drawn up. The position was rather fluid as large numbers of migrants returned to their homes. Of the 26 lakhs that remained, nearly two-thirds have been rehabilitated or have received governmental assistance in rehabilitation. During the last few weeks a new problem has arisen in West Bengal, where a continuous stream of migrants from East Pakistan is flowing in. Every effort is being made to deal with this abnormal and disturbing situation.

By the end of the current financial year, the Central Government will have spent about Rs. 143 crores on relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Western and Eastern Pakistan. In addition, about 56 lakh acres of evacuee and other land have been given to them, and about 3,32,000 urban houses, shops and industrial premises have been provided. Of these 96,000 are new houses constructed by Government. Further 52,000 developed plots have been allotted to D.Ps for constructing houses. The question of properties left by displaced persons in Pakistan has remained unsettled in spite of repeated efforts of Government. This is a vital matter affecting millions of people, which should be settled as early as possible.

In East Punjab, Delhi, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and in some other parts of the country, many new townships and colonies for displaced persons have been built up. Some of these are models of their kind and are conducted on co-operative lines, and are engaged in productive activities which are very satisfactory. It may be said that the results obtained in our rehabilitation work for displaced persons are remarkable. During the last 20 years or so, the problem of displaced persons has been faced in various parts of Europe and Asia. The

results we have obtained in our work compare very favourably with the results elsewhere. The fact remains, however, that a large number of displaced persons have to be provided for and more especially in West Bengal, where the problem at present is a growing one. High priority must necessarily continue to be given to this rehabilitation work for displaced persons both from Western and Eastern Pakistan.

26. As India is a Secular State, every citizen has the same duties, rights, privileges and obligations as any other. He has full freedom to profess and practise his religion. It is the particular duty of the State to protect these rights of all minority communities in the country and to give them full opportunities for development, so that they might play their part in the economy and public life of the country. The Congress will make every effort to ensure proper representation for them in the legislatures and other public bodies.

27. The women of India in the past, and especially in the struggle for the country's freedom, have played a notable part and distinguished themselves in many ways. They suffer, however, from a number of social and other disabilities. It is important that these disabilities should be removed so that they may take their full part in the economy and social progress of the country and make their special contribution to the life of the family and the community. In particular, they have to be intimately connected with all activities of social welfare and social education. Women are more responsible even than men for the next generation, and unless they are enabled to participate fully in all national activities, the progress of the nation suffers. The Congress is therefore of opinion that every effort should be made to open out opportunities of service for them in the legislatures and in social activities.

28. A demand for a re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the south and west of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other factors also such as economic, administrative and financial, which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the

concerned, the necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a Boundary Commission, should be taken.

29. In regard to foreign policy, India has pursued an independent line in her own national interest and in the interest of world peace, and has sought to maintain friendly relations with all countries. This has been a positive policy and, though sometimes criticised by others, has been vindicated by subsequent developments. This policy, which has borne some fruit already, will no doubt, yield further results and should be pursued. Certain small foreign establishments continue in India. The Congress has declared that these must revert to India, and our policy must be so aimed as to bring this about by peaceful means. India's policy with our neighbour countries has been very friendly, and we have welcomed the recent developments in Nepal. Unfortunately, we cannot say this in regard to Pakistan, with which our relations have been full of difficulty. We have repeatedly endeavoured to find a solution of the many issues on which we are at variance, but without success. The chief among these issues is that of Kashmir. In spite of the aggression of Pakistan and the continuous provocative propaganda there, we have endeavoured to find a peaceful settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. That policy holds and we cannot permit the Kashmir State to be disposed of in any other way. We owe a duty to the people of the State as well as to ourselves and we have to discharge it fully.

30. The world is distraught and moves from one crisis to another. India is affected by these world crises and cannot escape their consequences. We live in dangerous times and a false step may well prove perilous to us. India can only play an effective part in the cause of peace in this tormented world by adhering to her ideals and building up her strength as a united nation. Separatist and fissiparous tendencies weaken the nation and make it ineffective and, at the same time, come in the way of all progress. These difficult and precarious times demand a large unity of purpose and endeavour and co-operation in achieving the objectives we have placed before ourselves.

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## SUMMARY OF THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

### Object

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship. (Article 1)

### Constituents.

The Indian National Congress includes the Annual Session of the Congress and

(i) Gram and Mohalla Congress Committees: One such Committee shall be constituted for every village or mohalla or for a group of villages or mohallas, with a population of not less than 500 ; (ii) District Congress Committees ; (iii) Intermediate Congress Committees, between the District Congress Committee and the Gram or Mohalla Congress Committees to be determined by the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned ; (iv) Pradesh Congress Committee ; (v) The All-India Congress Committee ; (vi) The Working Committee, and (vii) Organizations or associations created, affiliated or approved by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee. (Article 2)

The term of every Congress Committee will ordinarily be two years (Article 5).

### Membership

Any person can become a Primary Member of the Congress if he is not less than 18 years old and if he pays an annual fee of Rs. 1. A Primary Member can become an Active Member if he fulfils the following conditions :

(i) He is of the age of 21 or over. (ii) He is a habitual wearer of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. (iii) He is a teetotaler. (iv) He does not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form. (v) He believes in equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race



- (vi) He is a believer in inter-communal unity and has respect for the faiths of others. (vii) He devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national, community or social service or some constructive activity, as laid down from time to time by the Congress. (Article 4)

### **Voters and Candidates**

Every Primary Member of not less than two years standing is entitled to vote at the election of delegates. But only an Active Member is eligible for election as a delegate or as a member of any Congress Committee other than Gram or Mohalla Congress Committees. (Article 7)

### **Delegates**

Each Pradesh is entitled to return delegates to the Congress in the proportion of one to every lakh of population from single member constituencies, each constituency having not less than 500 Primary Members. However, Delhi and Bombay Pradeshes can send a minimum of 45 and 30 delegates respectively. Every delegate has to pay an annual fee of Rs. 10. The delegates are elected for a term of two years. (Article 8)

### **All-India Congress Committee**

The A.I.C.C. consists of elected members from the 25 P.C.Cs. plus the ex-Presidents of the Congress. The delegates in each Pradesh elect from among themselves 1/8 of their number to the A.I.C.C. The election is by proportional representation according to the system of single transferable vote. (Article 9) The A.I.C.C. meets as the Subjects Committee under the Chairmanship of the President just before the Plenary Session to discuss the programme and frame the resolutions for the Session. (Article 13)

### **Pradesh Congress Committees**

The P.C.C. consists of all the delegates, elected and ex-officio, from the Pradesh. They have to pay Rs. 5 annually to the P.C.C. The P.C.Cs. frame their own constitutions subject to the approval of the Working Committee. (Article 11)

### **Plenary Session**

The Open Session of the Congress is ordinarily held once a year. (Article 14)

A special Congress Session can also be held if the A.I.C.C. so decides or if a majority of the P.C.Cs. request the President of the Congress to convene on such a Session. (Article 15)

### **Election of the President.**

The President of the Congress is elected by the delegates in each Pradesh under a system of preferential voting. The candidate who secures more than 50 per cent of the votes is declared elected. (Article 16)

### **Working Committee**

The Working Committee of the Congress consists of the President and 20 members including a Treasurer and one or more General Secretaries, who are all appointed by the President. Members of the Working Committee have to be members of the A.I.C.C. as well. The number of Ministers of the State and Central Governments on the Working Committee should not exceed  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its total membership. The Working Committee is the highest executive authority of the Congress and has the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the Congress or the A.I.C.C. It can supervise, direct and control all Congress Committees except the A.I.C.C. The Working Committee also possesses emergency powers. (Article 17)

### **General Secretaries.**

The General Secretaries are in charge of the office of the A.I.C.C. subject to the general control of the President. (Article 19)

### **Credentials Committees.**

There is a Central Credentials Committee consisting of not less than 3 and not more than 5 persons appointed by the Working Committee. Similarly Credentials Committees are appointed by the P.C.Cs. by a majority of at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of its members present and voting. Each District has a Credentials Committee consisting of 1 or more persons appointed by the Pradesh Credentials Committees out of a panel of three persons submitted by the District Congress Committees. The D.C.C. elects this panel by a majority of at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of its members present and voting. The Central, Pradesh and District Credentials Committees hold office ordinarily for two years. Only Active Members of the

Congress can serve as members on the Credentials Committees. The Credentials Committee examines applications for Active Membership of the Congress. A member of the Credentials Committee cannot hold an elective office in the Congress. (Article 20)

### **Tribunals.**

There is a Central Election Tribunal of not less than 3 and not more than 5 persons appointed by the Working Committee. Likewise, there are Pradesh and District Election Tribunals. These are elected in the same manner as the Credentials Committees and hold office for a similar period. A member of the Election Tribunal also cannot hold any elective office in the Congress. (Article 22) Election disputes are settled by these Tribunals. (Article 23)

### **Flag.**

The flag of the Congress consists of three horizontal colours,—saffron, white and green, with the picture of a charkha in blue in the centre. It is made of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. (Article 24)

### **Central Parliamentary Board.**

The Central Parliamentary Board set up by the Working Committee consists of the Congress President and 5 other members. The Congress President is the Chairman of the Board. The Central Parliamentary Board regulates and coordinates the parliamentary activities of the Congress Parties in the Central and State legislatures. (Article 25)

### **Election Committees**

There is a Central Election Committee, consisting of members of the Central Parliamentary Board and 5 other members elected by the A.I.C.C., for the purpose of conducting election campaigns and making the final selection of candidates for the State and Central Legislatures. Similarly, the Election Committee for each Pradesh consists of the President of the P.C.C., and not less than 4 and not more than 8 members elected by the P.C.C. by a 2/3 majority of its members present and voting. The Chairman of the Pradesh Election Committee is the P.C.C. President. The Committee recommends candidates for the Central and State Legislatures. (Article 25)

## Amendment

This Constitution can be amended only by the Plenary Session of the Congress. But when Congress is not in session, the A.I.C.C. can do so by a majority of 2/3 of its members present and voting at a meeting convened specially for this purpose. Such amendments are subject to ratification by the subsequent Session of the Congress. The A.I.C.C. however cannot amend Article 1. viz. the Object. (Article 28)

## Note

1. There are at present 30 million Primary Members.
  2. The number of delegates at present is 3103.
  3. The strength of the A.I.C.C. is 394.
  4. There are 390 District Congress Committees.
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*A true Congressman, is a true servant. He ever gives, ever wants service. He is easily satisfied so long as his own comfort is concerned. He is always content to take a back seat. He is never communal or provincial. His country is his paramount consideration. He is brave to a fault because he has shed all earthly ambition, fear of Death itself. And he is generous because he is brave, forgiving because he is humble and conscious of his own failings and limitations.*

—MAHATMA GANDHI

# RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

## 57th SESSION, OCTOBER 1951—DELHI

### 1. Foreign Policy

**T**HIS Congress reaffirms the resolution of the Nasik Congress in regard to foreign policy.

The great need of the world today is the avoidance of war, which will inevitably bring irretrievable disaster to mankind. This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world, on whom rests a heavy responsibility, will pursue policies which ease the present tensions and lead to peaceful solutions of present-day problems. The policy of interference with another country with a view to bring about political or economic changes there, as well as the policy of controlling another country and depriving it of freedom to shape its own destiny, must lead to conflict.

The United Nations Organisation was formed to provide a common platform for all countries, even though they differed from each other in many ways, and was based on each country having freedom to develop in its own way and not interfering with another. If that basic policy of the U. N. O. is followed, the fear that grips the world today will gradually lessen and a peaceful consideration of problems will become easier. This Congress approves of the policy pursued by the Government of India in seeking friendly relations with all countries and in avoiding any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace.

In particular, the Congress approves of the decision of the Government of India not to participate in the San Francisco Conference, which was held for the purpose of signing the Japanese Peace Treaty and instead to have a separate treaty with Japan. Peace in the Far East, which has been gravely disturbed by hostilities in Korea and subsequent developments, has to be based on the co-operation of the countries of the Far East and the other countries chiefly concerned. Any partial

arrangement which does not include all these countries is likely to increase the tension and lessen the chance of a peaceful settlement.

This Congress hopes that the negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea will meet with success and that this will be followed by a larger settlement in the Far East.

The colossal programme of rearmament, which present-day conditions have led many countries to adopt, add to international tension and cast a heavy burden on the people of those countries, which results in a lowering of their standards of living. The progress of the under-developed countries of the world is also impeded by these programmes of rearmament. If this vast expenditure on rearmament was diverted towards constructive purposes and to the advance of under-developed countries, that would be a surer guarantee of peace than preparations for war.

The Congress trusts that the United Nations Organisation will devote itself to the furtherance of the aims so nobly set forth in its Charter and reorganise itself for this purpose, where this is considered necessary.

The Congress deeply regrets the continuing tension between India and Pakistan, which injures both countries and poisons their relationship. India has and can have no aggressive designs on any country including Pakistan. But India has always to be prepared to meet any aggression that might be made on any part of her territories. The Congress would welcome a peaceful settlement of all Indo-Pakistan problems.

In regard to Kashmir, it has been the policy of the Government of India, with which we are in agreement, that the people of Kashmir should decide their own future. To this end, we have called for an early plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir State, on proper conditions which have been agreed to by the Government of India. The Congress was represented in the Constituent Assembly in the Kashmir State, and through its labours the State will be freer than it has been during the last two

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## 2. Anti-social and Disruptive Tendencies

It has been the aim and declared policy of the Congress since its inception to establish a secular democratic State which, while honouring every faith, does not discriminate against any religion or community and gives equal rights and freedom of opportunities to all communities and individuals who form the nation. The Constitution of the Republic of India is based on this fundamental principle. Any departure from it is a violation of the Constitution and the ideals which have inspired the people of India during their long struggle for freedom. The Congress reaffirms this policy and is of opinion that communalism in any shape or form is a misuse of religion and culture and is exceedingly harmful. Caste prejudices and barriers also encourage fissiparous tendencies and are detrimental to the larger interests of the country. Such prejudices as well as the spirit and practice of communalism are anti-social and disruptive and come in the way of the unity and progress of India and should therefore be opposed.

## 3. Economic Programme

This Congress approves of the Election Manifesto adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at its Bangalore meeting in July 1951.

The Congress believes that the establishment of a planned economy is essential for the most effective utilisation of the country's resources, for increasing national wealth and distributing it equitably, and for harnessing the energies of the people in the tasks of national reconstruction. The Congress, therefore, welcomes the draft Five Year Plan formulated by the Planning Commission and calls upon the nation and in particular, upon all Congressmen to offer the fullest cooperation in the execution of the National Plan.

The largest possible increase in production in every sphere of economic activity by all available means must figure in the forefront of our immediate economic programme. The production of food must be the first concern so as to put an end to dependence on foreign aid in this respect. It is also essential

to make sure of an adequate supply of raw materials to keep the people employed and industries running to full capacity.

The underlying defects in the economic and social organisation of the country, which have led to economic stagnation, have to be removed so as to lead to higher standards of productivity and welfare.

Future progress depends on capital formation and the amount saved by the community every year for this purpose. In order to enlarge the savings of the community, consumption will have to be restricted. Traditional sources of investment should give place to corporate and collective savings as well as the small savings of a very large number of persons. Tax evasion and blackmarketing, which have grown during the war and post-war period, have become social evils which are a serious impediment to economic progress and which may interfere with any effective planning. It is essential that the Government should take effective steps and the whole community should cooperate in order to destroy this menace to our social stability and welfare.

The administrative machinery of the State, both general and economic, has to be attuned to present-day needs in India and to the effective working of the National Plan. This necessitates the building up of an industrial and commercial cadre to plan the country's economic life and reorganise the existing economic structure in terms of the Plan and in accordance with the needs of social justice.

The building up of basic industries has to be given high priority. The Congress stands for the progressive extension of the public sector according to the resources and personnel available. For the present, however, the bulk of the resources available to the State have to be invested as a matter of priority in agriculture, irrigation and power, transport and cottage and small scale industries. The private sector should function in close accord with the public sector in the fulfilment of common national objectives. Labour should be able to participate in the day to day working of industrial undertakings and in the handling of the general problems of each industry.

Land is the base of India's economy. The State should be so organised that the fruits of labour



those who toil and land is worked as a source of wealth for the community. Some measures of land reform, notably the abolition of the zamindari and jagirdari system, protection of tenant cultivators, regulation of rents, the imposition of a ceiling on future acquisition of land and the fixation of minimum wages for agricultural workers have already been given effect to in many States. These should be extended and completed, as speedily as possible, so that their full benefit reaches the masses. The first step in the reorganisation of rural economy is to strengthen the village as a social and economic entity as against the separate interests of individuals, and for the purpose of effective administration for development. Village production councils should be charged with the responsibility of developing and increasing production and should serve as the link between the people and the agencies of the State. They should mobilise voluntary labour for community work. Management of all land not cultivated by occupants should vest in village production councils. Uneconomic and inefficient units of cultivation stand in the way of economic as well as social progress. Large co-operative farms are therefore necessary and agricultural and agrarian economy should be reorganised on the lines of co-operative village management.

Until co-operative village management is fully developed and organised, substantial individual farms should, as an interim measure, be brought under State direction and control. They should be required to conform to standards of cultivation and management laid down by Government. Inequality should be reduced through measures such as enforcement of minimum wages, levy of betterment fees in kind, agricultural incometax, and control of land values. In the event of failure, their management should be taken over by Government.

Incentives should be provided for the organisation of small uneconomic holdings into cooperative farms, and a large scale programme should be undertaken for the organisation of multi-purpose co-operatives.

The greatest asset of the country is its manpower. But if this is not used to proper advantage, it becomes a drag and a burden on the country. Apart from those who are wholly unemployed, there are a vast number of able-bodied persons who are only partially employed. Many of those who are

employed or partially employed exhibit a low level of skill, thus leading to economic loss. Full employment and raising the level of efficiency are thus the most important objectives of national endeavour.

The growth of basic industries, envisaged in the Plan, as well as the improvement in agriculture will provide additional employment. But the only way to provide useful employment on a large scale is by the development of cottage industries. Definite programmes of production through cottage and small scale industries should therefore be framed and such industries should be given facilities for organisation, research, training, finance, materials, marketing, and an adequate measure of protection. It is necessary that such cottage industries should be worked on the highest technical level of efficiency. By this method unused human working capacity will be mobilised and harnessed for constructive activity.

The whole system of production and distribution has to be reorganised with the deliberate object of achieving the ends of social justice. The existing disparities in respect of material well-being between the rural and urban areas, the backward and more advanced regions and communities and the different economic layers of the population must be progressively narrowed down, and a ceiling should be fixed for the higher incomes. Taxation and fiscal policies should be examined from this point of view.

The aim of planning must be the progressive removal of economic and cultural inequalities, in order to realise and establish a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political and social rights, aiming at world peace and fellowship, which is the object of the Indian National Congress.



- |                                    |                   |                            |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| (iv) Indian Delegation to the U.N. | (v) Goa           | (vi) Manila                |
| (vii) San Francisco                | (viii) Indo-China | (ix) Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) |

## F. Consulates

- (i) Medan (Indonesia)
- (ii) Hanoi (Indo-China)
- (iii) Vice-Consulate, Jalalabad (Afghanistan)
- (iv) Vice-Consulate, Kandahar (Afghanistan)
- (v) Vice-Consulate, Zahidan (Iran)

## G. Commissions

- (i) British East Africa
- (ii) British West Indies
- (iii) Fiji Islands
- (iv) Mauritius
- (v) Aden

## H. Agencies

- (i) Kandy (Ceylon)
- (ii) Kuala Lumpur (Malaya)
- (iii) Wellington (New Zealand)

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## 2. FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES IN INDIA

Immediately after India became independent, many important countries took the initiative in establishing contact with us. Now almost all important powers have diplomatic relations with our country.



### Old Agreements which are not yet extended

(xvi) Indonesia	Trade Agreement	1.11.50 to 30. 6.50
(xvii) Czechoslovakia	„ „	31. 3.50 to 31. 3.51
(xviii) Ceylon	„ „	1. 1.50 to 31.12.50
(xix) Yugoslavia	„ „	1. 1.49 to 31.12.49

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## 4. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

1. The number of persons who have migrated to India from Pakistan as revealed by the 1951 all-India Census (1.3.1951) is 74.80 lakhs. The number for West Pakistan and East Pakistan is estimated at 49.05 lakhs and 25.75 lakhs respectively.

2. Excepting 1.46 lakhs persons who are still in camps (see below for details) the remaining displaced persons have been rehabilitated.

3. There are about 1.46 lakhs persons still in various relief camps. The details are as given below:

(a) Number of East Pakistan displaced persons on doles at the end of July 1951 0.98 lakh

Those getting relief as a temporary measure 0.64 lakh

Those accepted as 'permanent liability' .. 0.34 lakh

(b) Number of displaced persons from West Pakistan getting doles .. .. 0.48 lakh

Unattached women and children etc. .. 0.35 lakh

Kashmiri displaced persons .. .. 0.13 lakh.

4. On June 30, 1951, the total number of unattached women and children and aged and infirm persons (including dependents) from West Pakistan in regular Homes and Infirmaries was 23,369. They were housed in 41 different Homes or Ashrams in eleven different States.



6. Government's expenditure on displaced persons during the years 1947-48 to 1951-52 is as follows:

Total for the years 1947-50	Rs. 73·86 Crores
Final grant for 1950-51	Rs. 34·19 Crores
Estimated expenditure, 1951-52	Rs. 34·83 Crores
<hr/>	
Total	Rs. 142·88 Crores

Note: Upto March, 1950, Rs. 94,00,78,000 were spent by Government, of which Rs. 2,35,18,000 were spent on evacuation, Rs. 32,27,73,000 on relief and Rs. 59,37,87,000 on rehabilitation.

7. The statement given below shows the amount of loans given up to 30.6.1951.

(i) Loans by State Governments to D.Ps. from West Pakistan settled in rural areas .. .. .	Rs.  7,02,88,800
(ii) Loans by State Governments to D.Ps. from West Pakistan for resettlement in urban areas .. .. .	  *9,28,05,000
(iii) Educational loans to displaced students from West Pakistan	40,95,900
(iv) Educational loans to displaced stu- dents studying abroad .. .. .	7,17,200
(v) Loans given by Rehabilitation Finance Administration .. .. .	2,71,03,842
<hr/>	
Total	Rs. 19,50,10,742
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\*Excluding PEPSU Development Board figures.





- (g) Lower Bhawani Dam
- (h) Krishna River Project (Madras)
- (i) Koyna River Project

Total acreage expected to be irrigated—16.5 million acres.

Total expected power generation—1.93 million kwts.

Total programmed expenditure during the five years ending 1955-56—Rs. 450 crores.

Expenditure incurred upto 31 March 1951—Rs. 141 crores.

## 6. GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

Total expenditure sanctioned by the Government of India to State Governments for the years 1947-48 to 1950-51 (in Lakhs)

Year	Loans	Grants	Net sub-sidy cost*	Total
1947-48	92.74	146.31	—	239.05
1948-49	231.58	553.30	—	784.88
1949-50	387.71	650.00	294.78	1332.49
1950-51	1507.30	118.87	1887.92	3514.09

\*This is the amount approved as Grants to State Governments out of the Food Bonus earned by them and represents the share of both the Central and State Governments.

## 7. LAND POLICY

(a) Area reclaimed and estimated additional production of foodgrains—1947-48 to 1950-51.

Years	By State	By Central Tractor Organisation (thousand acres)	Total	Estimated additional production of foodgrains (thousand tons)
1947-48	50	33	83	23
1948-49	298	72	370	41
1949-50	593	79	672	156
1950-51	299*	282	581*	not available

\* Incomplete

(b) Abolition of Zamindari

Out of the nine States in Part A, five namely, Madras, Bihar, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have passed legislation for the abolition of zamindari, while in Orissa a bill is pending for the purpose. West Bengal has been considering a pilot scheme in Sundarbans area as a prelude to full-fledged abolition. Bombay has abolished a number of tenures like Mehwar, Tabigdari, Khoti and Maleki.

Among Part B States, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Saurashtra and Mysore have taken steps to abolish zamindari and jagirdari systems. Jammu and Kashmir state has passed acts for the abolition of big estates and jagirs. The method of paying compensation varies from state to state depending upon the total amount payable and the resources with each state.

(c) Tenancy Legislation

Tenancy acts have been passed giving greater security to the tenants, and tenant-landlord rights have been regulated. Economic holdings have also been created.

The main feature of tenancy legislation in recent years has been to encourage personal cultivation and the prevention of absentee landlordism. In Bombay, Hyderabad, Saurashtra and

the Punjab, the tenancy acts permit the landlords to eject their tenants and take over land upto a certain limit for personal cultivation. Moreover, efforts have been made in several states to simplify the bewildering variety of legislation on tenures and extending the benefits of fixity of tenure and fair rents to tenants.

Before independence attempts had been made to consolidate fragmented holdings by voluntary effort. This was indeed a slow process and the recent measures passed in Bombay, Punjab and PEPSU permit *compulsory* consolidation of scattered holdings.

An effort has also been made towards nationalisation of the methods of production since August 1947. Land is no longer looked upon as private property to be exploited according to individual whims but as a social asset to be used in the best interests of the nation. Some of the acts in this category cover reclamation of new land and intensive cultivation of lands already under the plough. Steps have also been taken to prevent losses through pests and disease. State governments can undertake the destruction of pests that affect plants or require the peasants to do so within a specified time limit.

Change from a policy of *laissez faire* to deliberate planning and direction is manifest in the legislations for crop planning and crop regulation passed in many of the states.

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## 8. INDUSTRIES UNDER GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE

The industrial policy was first announced in April 1948. Since then, the Planning Commission has surveyed the whole field. Here only a few factories have been mentioned.

### (1) The Fertiliser Factory, Sindri

The biggest factory of its kind in Asia, it has cost Rs. 23 crores. It has gone into production on October 31, 1951. Estimated production: 1,000 tons of ammonium sulphate a day.

### (2) The Machine Tool Factory, Jalahalli (Bangalore)

Preliminary erection work started. Erected with the help of a Swis firm in April 1949. Agreement envisages manufacture of 900 high speed lathes, 460 milling machines and 240 heavy duty drilling machines per year. Estimated capital cost, Rs. 93·7 million. Annual value of output while in full production by

1955-56 is estimated at over Rs. 40 million. Key technical personnel are being recruited. Plant and machinery immediately required, costing 5 million Swiss Francs, have been authorised to be bought.

(3) **Telephone Cables Factory, Mihijam (West Bengal)**

Estimated to cost Rs. 10 million. Value of annual output while in full production is calculated at about Rs. 8 to 10 million. Agreement has been signed with a U.K. firm who will provide the designs, and technical personnel. Specifications for the plant and machinery are completed. Layout of plans for the factory and residential buildings are prepared.

(4) **Penicillin Factory, Poona**

Bombay Government and India Government to contribute 49 and 51 per cent of capital. Immediate requirements of penicillin being met by the penicillin bottling plant in a new building in the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, with a capacity at present to bottle 10,000 vials a day and on an average 1,500,000 mega units of penicillin a year. The plant is working since May 1951, and will meet Government requirements and a part of public requirements.

The plant is to be a co-operative endeavour of W.H.O. and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, and the Government of India. The Government's contribution in land, buildings, fittings, offices, laboratories, pilot plant, electric sub-station, sewage disposal water, etc. will cost Rs. 10 million. U.N.I.C.E.F. will supply all imported equipment of the value of \$850,000 and W.H.O. will provide technical assistance involving \$350,000.

The Factory is planned to produce 3,600 billion units of penicillin per year to start with, rising to 9,000 billion units a year.

(5) **Plant for Manufacturing Printing Inks**

This is an enterprise of the C.S.I.R. which has evolved a new process for the manufacture of stamp cancelling and printing inks. Pilot plant has been set up already at a cost of Rs. 28,000 and is capable of manufacturing upto 1,300 lbs. of ink per day. New additions to the plant are contemplated at a capital expenditure of Rs. 68,000 and recurrent annual expenditure of Rs. 6,65,837. The output is 10,00,000 lbs. estimated to yield a profit of Rs. 100,000 per annum based on the current prices. This project saves hard currency.

## 9. NATIONAL LABORATORIES

Scientific research is the basis of all advance in modern times. Soon after independence, Government of India set up a Council of Scientific Research and the following National laboratories dealing with different subjects have been already organised. Many of them are working today.

National Physical Laboratory	New Delhi	Opened on 21- 1-1950
National Chemical Laboratory	Poona	Opened on 3- 1-1950
National Metallurgical Laboratory	Tatanagar	Opened on 26-11-1950
Fuel Research Institute	Jealgora (Bihar)	Opened on 22- 4-1950
Central Glass & Ceramic Research Institute	Calcutta	Opened on 26- 8-1950
Central Leather Research Institute	Madras	Foundation stone laid on 24-4-1948
Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute	Karaikkudi	Foundation stone laid in September 1948.
Central Road Research Institute	Delhi	Foundation stone laid on 6-9-1950
Central Food Technological Research Institute	Mysore	Opened on 21-10-1950
Central Building Research Institute	Roorkee	Foundation stone laid on 10-2-1951
Central Drug Research Institute	Lucknow	Opened on 17- 2-1951

## 10. INDIA'S TRADE : IMPORTS & EXPORTS

### Trends since 1947.

Partition increased India's dependence on outside countries for food and essential raw materials like jute and cotton. Our major export industries suffered heavily. Removal of controls on food grains and sugar towards the end of 1947, and on cotton textiles early in 1948 led to tremendous inflationary trends, and created intractable problems in the sphere of India's foreign trade. Towards the end of 1947, the relative prices of many commodities in India, being lower than elsewhere, enormous profits accrued to Indian exporters with the result that the Government imposed export duties on cloth, manganese, oil seeds and oils. But as a result prices of Indian goods moved upwards out of parity with world prices. The liberal import policy of the Government in July 1948, further liberalised in November by the introduction of O.G.L. XI, caused enormous deficit in balance of trade. The trend in industries was a steady rise in prices resulting in strain on consumers' purchasing power in India. The situation in 1948-49 was most unsatisfactory.

But later, the deficit in India's balance of trade was reduced from 219 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 11 crores in 1950-51. Reasons were devaluation of the Rupee, measures taken to increase exports and strict regulation of imports.

Foreign trade of India in 1950-51 (Sea, air-borne and land)  
Rs. 1204.44 crores as compared with Rs. 1106.26 crores in 1949-50 and Rs. 1126.66 crores in 1948-49.

Imports	1950-51	Rs. 607.88 crores.
Exports	1950-51	Rs. 592.01 crores.
Re-exports for:	1950-51	Rs. 4.55 crores.

(Exclusive of transit trade)

Deficit in trade during 1948-49	Rs. 219.26 crores.
during 1949-50	Rs. 94.48 crores.
during 1950-51	Rs. 11.32 crores.

## 11. RAILWAYS

Improvement in Railways is more in the nature of replacement and restoration of efficiency than merely adding to.

Total route mileage of Indian railways is 34,078.94

Additional route mileage (since August 15, 1947) on account of new construction is 311 and on account of restoration 44, making a total of 355 route miles. The lines are :

Mavli Junction—Bada Sadri in Rajasthan  
 Rupar—Nangal on E.P. Railway  
 Mudkhed—Adilabad in Hyderabad  
 Pipli-Gop and Dhanisara—Malia in Saurashtra  
 Sanganer Town—Sawai Mangarh in Rajasthan  
 \* Kandla—Deesa in Saurashtra  
 \*Kukerian—Pathankot in Punjab  
 \* Ghunar—Robertsganj on E.I. Railway  
 Arantangi—Karaikudi, Madras  
 Assam Rail Link

New strategic Railway lines since August 1947 are :

Assam Rail Link  
 Kukerian—Pathankot Railway

Additional passenger service to the tune of 14 million train miles has been made available.

- (v) Provision of electric fans and additional berths for sleeping accommodation in third class compartments, running of long distance through trains called "Janata Expresses" composed entirely of third class compartments, are among the special facilities provided since August 1947.

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\*Under construction- Not included in the total figure of new construction.



## 12. CASES OF CORRUPTION, BRIBERY AND DETENTION

The Central as well as State Governments have been taking drastic steps to check this evil. The Delhi Special Police Establishment is the only Police organisation set up by the Government of India for the purpose of investigating and detecting cases of bribery and corruption among officers of the Government of India. Since its inception in June 1947 to 31st December 1950 it registered 2927 cases, of which 278 related to gazetted or commissioned officers and 2027 related to non-gazetted or non-commissioned officers. From 1st January 1951 to 30th June 1951 this organisation handled 845 cases of which the details are as follows:—

Number of persons involved including Government officers and servants	..	1728
Number of prosecutions launched	..	457
Number of cases which resulted in conviction	..	66
Number of cases which resulted in acquittal or discharge	..	76
Number of cases pending trial	..	292
Number of cases otherwise disposed of in courts, the accused having absconded or escaped from India	..	23

The total number of cases in which departmental action was taken was 251. Of these 46 cases resulted in departmental punishment, 42 in exoneration of the persons involved and 163 were still pending.

Under the Preventive Detention Act, 306 cases were referred to the Advisory Boards before the Act was amended on 22nd February 1951, and 2891 cases after that date up to 30th June 1951.

Similar action has been taken in every state.



## 13. CENSUS OF INDIA, 1951—contd.

## Provisional Totals—General Population

1951

Provisional Totals—General Population.

Name of State	Land Area in square miles	POPULATION		Percentage variation Increase(+) Decrease(-)
		1951	1941	1941-51
		Persons 3	Persons 4	5
I	2	3	4	5
<i>Part C States.</i>				
	2,425	692,506	588,960	+ 17.5
1. Aimer ..	6,921	838,107	785,322	+ 6.8
2. Bhopal ..	453	127,566	110,336	+ 16.4
3. Bilaspur ..	1,593	229,255	168,726	+ 35.5
4. Coorg ..	574	1,743,992	917,939	+ 90.0
5. Delhi ..	10,600	989,437	935,359	+ 5.8
6. Himachal Pradesh	8,461	567,825	500,800	+ 13.4
7. Kutch ..	8,620	579,058	512,069	+ 13.1
8. Manipur ..	4,049	649,930	513,010	+ 26.7
9. Tripura ..	24,600	3,577,431	3,353,019	+ 6.7
10. Vindhya Pradesh	68,296	9,995,107	8,385,540	+ 19.2
Total Part C States				
<i>Part D Territories and Other Areas</i>				
	3,143	30,963	33,768	- 8.3
1. Andaman & Nicobar Islands	2,745	135,646	121,520	+ 11.5
2. Sikkim ..				
Total Part D Terri- tories, etc. ..	5,888	166,609	155,288	+ 7.3
Grand Total ..	1,138,814	356,891,624	314,830,190	+ 13.4

### 14-A. Statement showing number of single-member and double-member constituencies in various States

Name of State	Parliamentary Constituencies			State Assembly Constituencies		
	Total	Single member	Double member	Total	Single member	Double member
<i>Part 'A' States</i>						
Assam ..	10	8	2	94	80	14
Bihar ..	44	33	11	276	222	54
Bombay ..	37	29	8	268	222	46*
Madhya Pradesh	23	17	6	184	136	48
Madras ..	62	49	13	309	243	66
Orissa ..	16	12	4	107	74	33
Punjab ..	15	12	3	105	84	21
Uttar Pradesh ..	69	52	17	347	264	83
West Bengal ..	26	19	7*	187	136	51
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>71*</b>	<b>1877</b>	<b>1461</b>	<b>416*</b>
<i>Part 'B' States</i>						
Hyderabad ..	21	17	4	142	109	33
Madhya Bharat ..	9	7	2	79	59	20
Mysore ..	9	7	2	80	61	19
PEPSU ..	4	3	1	50	35	15
Rajasthan ..	18	13	5	140	107	33
Saurashtra ..	6	6	—	55	44	11
Travancore-Cochin	11	11	1	97	74	23



**14-B. Statement showing total number of seats and voters in various States**

Name of State	Total No. of seats	Total No. of voters	Total No. of consti- tuencies
<i>PART ' A ' STATES</i>			
Assam ..	108	40,12,067	94
Bihar ..	330	2,03,89,520	276
Bombay ..	315	1,67,23,381	268
Madhya Pradesh	232	1,12,32,070	184
Madras ..	375	2,70,17,652	309
Orissa ..	140	76,84,828	107
Punjab ..	126	66,91,004	105
Uttar Pradesh ..	430	3,13,67,000	347
West Bengal ..	238	1,24,15,107	187
Total ..	2,294	13,75,38,629	1,877
<i>PART ' B ' STATES</i>			
Hyderabad ..	175	90,42,244	142
Madhya Bharat ..	99	40,85,594	79
Mysore ..	99	39,86,005	80
PEPSU ..	160	17,63,531	140
Rajasthan ..	60	76,27,152	50
Saurashtra ..	60	17,57,078	55
Travancore-Cochin	108	42,05,740	97
Total ..	761	3,24,67,344	643



**14-C Number of members in the Central Legislature**

House of the People = 489

Council of States = 205

**14-D. Upper Houses in States**

The following seven states have two Houses. The number of members in each of the Houses is shown against them.

Name of State			No. of members	
			Upper House	Lower House
1. Bihar	..	..	72	330
2. Bombay	..	..	72	315
3. Madras	..	..	72	375
4. Punjab	..	..	40	126
5. Uttar Pradesh	..	..	72	430
6. West Bengal	..	..	51	238
7. Mysore	..	..	40	99



**14-E Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes.**

The table given below shows the total number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) in the Parliament and the State Legislatures in the various states:

Name of State	Total number of seats reserved			
	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
	Parliament	State Legislature.	Parliament	State Legislature.
<b>PART 'A' STATES</b>				
Assam ..	1	5	2*	26@
Bihar ..	7	44	6	35
Bombay ..	4	27	4	29
Madhya Pradesh ..	4	32	3	27
Madras ..	12	62	1	4
Orissa ..	3	21	—	28
Punjab ..	3	21	—	—
Uttar Pradesh ..	17	83	2	12
West Bengal ..	6	40	—	—
<b>Total</b> ..	57	335	22	161
<b>PART 'B' STATES</b>				
Hyderabad ..	4	31	—	2
Madhya Bharat ..	2	17	1	12
Mysore ..	2	19	—	—
Pepsu ..	1	10	—	—
Rajasthan ..	2	16	1	5
Saurashtra ..	—	4	—	1
Travancore-Cochin ..	1	11	—	—
<b>Total</b> ..	12	108	2	20

reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the Autonomous  
Tribes in the Autonomous



# 15. POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ELECTION SYMBOLS

The following 14 all-India parties have been recognised and assigned the symbols noted against them.

1. Indian National Congress

.. Two bulls with yoke on

2. Socialist Party of India

.. Tree

3. All India Forward Bloc (Marxist Group)

.. Standing lion

4. All India Forward Bloc (Ruiker group)

.. Human hand

5. Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha

.. Horse and rider

6. Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party

.. Hut

7. Akhil Bharat Ram Rajya Parishad

.. Rising sun

8. All India Scheduled Castes Federation

.. Elephant

9. Communist Party of India

.. Ears of Corn and a sickle

10. Bolshevik Party of India

.. Star

11. Krishikar-Lok Party

.. A cultivator winnowing grain.

12. All India Bhartiya Jan Sangh

.. Lamp

13. Revolutionary Socialist Party

.. Spade and stoker

14. Revolutionary Communist Party of India..

.. Flaming Torch

N.B. These symbols are for the General seats. Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes will have a circle enclosing the party symbol. Seats reserved for Scheduled Tribes will have two circles enclosing the party symbol, one above the other.

## 16. ADDRESSES OF PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEES

1. Ajmer Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Naya Bazar, *AJMER*.
2. Assam Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*GAUHATI*.
3. Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Andhra Ratna Bhawan, *VIJAYAWADA*.
4. West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee,  
35-B, Wellington Street, *CALCUTTA*.
5. Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee,  
P.O. Sadaquat Ashram, *PATNA*.
6. Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Vithalbhai Patel Road, *BOMBAY—4*.
7. Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Ajmeri Gate, *DELHI*.
8. Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Bhadra, *AHMEDABAD*.
9. Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*HYDERABAD (DN)*.
10. Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Skipton Villa, *SIMLA*.
11. Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*HUBLI*.
12. Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*QUILON*.
13. Madhya Bharat Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*INDORE*.
14. Mahakoshal Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Tularam Chowk, *JUBBULPORE*.
15. Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Shivaji Nagar, *POONA—5*.
16. Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee,  
50 Cottonpet, *BANGALORE*.
17. Nagpur Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Mahal, *NAGPUR*.
18. PEPSU Pradesh Congress Committee,  
*PATIALA*.
19. Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee,  
Mehdi Manzil, Pukka Bagh, *JULLUNDUR CITY*.
20. Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Committee  
*JAIPUR*.



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